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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

PEOPLE'S THEATRE

BY

© LINDA ZELDA SCHULZ

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1990

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Linda Z Schulz

LINDA ZELDA SCHULZ

Permanent Address:

2608-37 Street S.E.
Calgary, Alberta
T2B 0Z2

DATE: Aug 25, 1990

A union between historians, novelists, historical sociologists, and anthropologists is long overdue; for it is only with the special gifts of all of them that we can hope to join George Eliot's scientists in piercing "the obscurity of those minute processes which prepare human misery and joy, those invisible thoroughfares which are the first lurking places of anguish, mania and crime, that delicate poise and transition which determine the growth of happy or unhappy consciousness."

Elliott Leyton, 1986

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

THE UNDERSIGNED CERTIFY THEY HAVE READ, AND RECOMMEND TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH FOR ACCEPTANCE, A THESIS ENTITLED "PEOPLE'S THEATRE," SUBMITTED BY LINDA ZELDA SCHULZ IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION.

DR. CARL URION

Marilyn J. Assheton-Smith
DR. MARILYN ASSHETON-SMITH

Robin McGrath
DR. ROBIN MCGRATH

Kevin Burns
MR. KEVIN BURNS

DATE: July 25/90

ABSTRACT

This investigation is concerned with the interaction between cultures, societies and the arts, and how this is expressed through people's theatre forms in community and classroom settings from international to Canadian locales. Understanding how cultural knowledge is brought to bear on any action taken, and how change affects the interaction of members of cultures or societies is significant for understanding the present state of the world. When people's theatre is used, often adults and children are rehearsing for and expressing their understanding of social change and findings suggest that arts education is integral to mediating change.

Theatre's weapon is its ability to engage the "theatre imagination" both artistically and in terms of its impact on the audience. Convinced of the inevitability of change, more and more grassroots organizations, especially Native organizations and women's groups, are using people's theatre techniques to address the community's well-being and survival in a fast-changing world.

People's theatre in the international community has created ways of placing the world and the arts in a dialectical relationship that could improve human life: it is an effective way to engage in dialogue with the people for social revolution, and in the meantime, to improve the aesthetic nature of natural and man-made environments. Findings suggest that intercultural and intersocietal communication is enhanced by a thriving arts community. People's theatre is a powerful agency for creating collective resistance and to fight for changes in the cultural and/or societal realms, but money and resources are necessary for people to protect their interests. Overt control of or manipulation of the performing arts via support, encouragement and status for colonial themes and aesthetic traditions reflect how the domination of one group over another has to be won, reproduced, and sustained in the cultural realm. Indigenous forms of people's theatre are often diminished or ignored which may lead to cultural and societal stasis.

People's theatre techniques in the Canadian classroom and community settings are

spawning new indigenous forms, for example, the "power play" process, or the "story circles" method, both proven techniques to transcend barriers to meaningful change in a multicultural setting. There is evidence that students fare better when the arts, for instance, people's theatre, is used in the school setting to extend the total curriculum, or integrated into programs like Language Arts and Social Studies-History classes. Marginalization of the arts in schools and communities risks excellence, creativity, integrity, rational utilization of resources, and so forth. An organization that uses people theatre effectively will find it an excellent tool to increase its members' share of knowledge, experience, and resources.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

> To some extent, to say that this Earth has "first" (industrial capitalist), "second" (industrial socialist), and "third" (less developed, poor, primarily rural) worlds tends to create the impression that parts of this planet are culturally and economically entirely separate. But this is clearly not the case. *Links* are apparent...showing a planet whose peoples have become, for better or for worse, increasingly interconnected [my emphasis]. (Webster, 1984:4)
>
> If the "silence is broken"...the "circle of healing can begin." (Cuff, 1989a:A12).
>
> All my life I thought it was inevitable that I'd be nothing but a skid row bum. But then I got into ...drama. And when I was out there in front of all those people and they were listening to us—really listening—I realized that maybe I didn't have to turn out that way after all. (student participant, Saskatoon Native Survival School, as quoted in Smillie and Murphy, 1986:4)
>
> That the violated culture should...respond by beginning to heal itself and set an example for the larger society is some kind of miracle. (Cuff, 1989a:A12).

From all over this planet, previously unheard voices are being heard and organized through the transformative, educational intermediary known as people's theatre. People's theatre or "liberated theatre," which has emerged out of social interventionist practices in Third World countries, is part of the "grassroots or horizontal communication" of the cultural, textual, and educational resurgence and mobilization occurring in marginalized groups world-wide, and also it is seen as part of the arts generating and shaping cultural knowledge for reflection and action (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:30, 32; Kidd, 1985:18; Robinson, 1988; Borlase, 1988; Regnier, 1988; Cooke, 1988; Goldie, 1988).

People's theatre, in its "repudiation of 'colonial' structures of thought and methods of theatrical creation" (Filewod, 1987:viii) and in its search for "appropriate 'liberating' theatrical forms" (Boal, 1979:ix), continues to advance in the Brechtian sense the interests of the popular classes (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32). In addition, in Boal's sense, people's theatre carries the possibility of addressing, for all classes, the structural/relational forms of power by exposing the compliance and oppression inherent in these power structures.

People's theatre seeks to aid all individuals: 1) it acts as an organizing medium and builder of solidarity and offers the opportunity, ultimately, to come together in community; 2) as a communications tool and as a cultural animator, it helps individuals to become active in preserving their heritage or cultural knowledge; 3) as a tool for critical study, analysis, and response, it helps individuals and communities arbitrate their future; 4) as a people's curriculum and an experience of self-determination, it enables people to know their past and future role in the developing global community; 5) as a form of resistance, it reveals and repudiates ideological structures (both tacit and explicit) which impede thought and action; and 6) as a transformative, educational intermediary significant for mediating human adaptation to changing circumstance, it helps individuals in communities to transcend barriers to change (Borlase, 1988:51-53; Kidd and Rashid, 1983:30, 32; Regnier, 1988; Boal, 1979).

Transformative, "liberating," popular education, which also emerged out of social interventionist practices in Third World countries (Kidd and Rashid, 1983:30; see also Freire, 1970; Freire and Shor, 1987), shares many of people's theatre's principles and goals. Such liberating education seeks to address and assess 1) the failure of teaching methods to keep pace with content and content's deficiency in relevant cultural knowledge and experience, 2) the marginalization and devaluing of the arts as a way of knowing, generating, and shaping cultural knowledge in schools and in the greater community (society), which causes some students to resist formal educational processes, 3) those ideological structures (both tacit and explicit) which affect students' experience of meaningful academic success and, ultimately, the students' cultural well-being, and their well-being and survival in the community, and 4) the learner as an active participant in his/her learning and formal schooling's role as a mediator for the learning of alternative ways of thinking and acting for adapting to the changing environment (Henry, 1960:128; Regnier, 1988; Borlase, 1988; Smillie and Murphy, 1986).

This is particularly exciting from a Canadian perspective as people's theatre as a "tool" or "medium" for development has become a part of the educational process in some schools dealing with indigenous and northern indigenous people—the Saskatoon Native Survival School and those served by the Labrador East Integrated Schools Board—and has evolved as an innovative and legitimate curricular and teacher-training response for addressing those who were once seen as "casualties" of the school system (Regnier, 1988; Borlase, 1988; Henry, 1960:128).

Bringing the community into the classroom has become the bandwagon for educators in the 1980s and beyond. It is one thing to invite students' parent(s) or guardian(s) and perhaps even extended family, such as grandparent(s) and/or others, directly into the schools and into classrooms, and it is another to deal with students as representatives of the familial, cultural, and social milieu of which they are a part. Public and/or formal schooling which integrates the many, varied, and changing cultural components of the multicultural Canadian community it serves has begun to set an example of how to address the realities of that community and to serve the needs of that community as it moves into the twenty-first century.

Some schools with a large Native and/or northern indigenous population, for example, the Saskatoon Native Survival School and those served by the Labrador East Integrated Schools Board, are part of the vanguard, addressing the predominant non-Native culture's past and present spiritual and material subversion of what was once regarded as an "alien" culture and integrating the many, changing, and varied cultural components of the population it serves as it moves into the twenty-first century and recognizing the arts and other expressive forms (including oral history and theatre or drama) as a legitimate way of knowing, which also encourages literacy. In combining the best of both worlds, these schools seek to address 1) public schooling's predominantly non-Native intents and goals and 2) Native and northern indigenous peoples' desire to assert themselves and to be leaders and role models in the 1990s and beyond.

The Saskatoon Native Survival School, the many, varied schools which make up the Labrador Schools' Board, and a number of local schools in Alberta (for example, Alex Taylor and Ben Calf Robe) have adopted drama or theatre programs as extra-curricular activities or as an integrated part of the Language Arts and other programs in order to incorporate cultural and societal components from the students' real world (home and/or background) into the life of the school and to develop critical/emancipatory ways of reflecting and acting. Drama classes and/or drama programs integrated with other curricula elements appear to be a very effective method to elicit from students stories and role-playing which in effect deal with their everyday lives as they live them, and they offer a way for students to meet the demands of public schooling. Natives, northern indigenous peoples, the poor, the disenfranchised, and others who have been excluded from doing well in the school system in the past can be accommodated and encouraged through drama programs incorporating elements of "people's theatre" to disseminate information about what they already know, and what they need to know, in other words, where they are coming from and where they are going to.

For example, students at the Saskatoon Native Survival School 1) have proven to do significantly better in all their other classes while attending the drama workshop in their school, 2) are supported, encouraged, and rewarded for their efforts by the community as well as by the school, 3) are afforded an opportunity to form collegial (peer support) groups within the school, and 4) can use their drama training upon graduation to form professional theatre groups that are economically viable and continue to educate the community.

Young women are most often the ones whom drama classes fail. There are often tragic and extenuating circumstances that prevent some young women from successfully completing high school. The desire to finish school may be there, but as we now know, a lack of self-esteem, a lack of support, encouragement, reward, and/or recognition and status for their accomplishment, and such factors as physical and/or sexual abuse, pregnancy, alcoholism, prostitution, drugs, poverty, and discrimination can prove to be insurmountable barriers. Although generally affecting young women, no one group of people or culture is immune to these problems.

In addition to examining drama as an educational tool, this study also examines how the non-Native culture can learn from the courage and experience of a people it has corrupted and mistreated and, in fact, attempted to strip of their culture and customs and whom it is now trying to understand and help heal. This study intends to examine further how and when drama classes might be used, along with the intervention of other helping services in the community, to break dysfunctional cycles in both the non-Native and Native communities.

An interdisciplinary study like this one looks to international examples, for instance, Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal whose works respectively on pedagogy and theatre of the oppressed have set a precedent in Third World countries, and to national and local examples of similar work being done in schools and in the community.

In the multicultural Canadian theatre community, as in many other settings worldwide, the challenge today seems to be a question of how to make theatre an effective political and social instrument and to keep it artistically and commercially viable so that it can contribute dynamically to the development of culture. It has been noted that worldwide many traditional, conventional, and so-called apolitical forms of theatre "are in crisis, their audiences dwindling or their continued value to a modernizing society called into question" (Mackerras and Wichmann, 1983:6).

Indigenous Canadian theatre, known as "collective creation," continues to advance, breeding authentic, dramatic, and educational forms, and it continues to raise questions about political and theatrical processes and political and educational processes as they touch on the mediation between cultures and between societies (Goldie, 1988; Cooke, 1988; Borlase, 1988).

The concerns being dealt with here are very timely to the extent that they are increasingly being aired via the mass media, for instance, both newspapers and television (and popular theatre or people's theatre as we will see) are daily dealing with the topics of major concern in this study.[1]

What is emerging then is a new Canadian crossbreed called *drama liberating education*, a tool for integration and for sustainable development, that is, it is based on the rational utilization of human resources. Whether it is used in the classroom or community setting, by being closely related to the social realities of people's daily lives, by addressing inequality of income and access to resources, by developing strategies that stress investment in human resources and humane ways of dealing with the environment, that is, protecting and preserving it and the people in it, and by mediating human adaptation to the sheer pace of change in a fast-changing and complex world, this education tool is already serving the needs of a popular transformation.

---

[1] Some examples of recent media coverage: "The playwright of Prague's political drama" (Sutherland and Gershkovitch, 1990:A7); "A powerful plea for the world's rain forests" (Cuff, 1989b:C4); "Technology as a 'threat to what it means to be human,'" (Gooderham, 1989:D2); "Action on environment urged" (1989:A9);"Stop stealing native stories" (Keeshig-Tobias, 1990:A7); "Indian tales, this time from the pen of a native" (Kirchhoff, 1990a:A12); "Respect for native stories" (Lotz, 1990:A6); "Native-made video to teach culture" (1988:14); "Powerful message in play about land claim" (Meili, 1988:8); "Cultural groups meet, survival is hottest topic" (Red Crow, 1988:3); "[Native] Performers prepare real life drama [Oddly Enough] for upcoming Fringe Festival [Edmonton]" (Matthew, 1988:13); "Now more than ever [popular theatre may be one of the few means of keeping in touch with human feelings and situations]" (Mastai, 1987:7-10); "Natives plan paddle protest against hydro development" (Picard, 1990:A4); "Conservative MP insulted Indians at meeting, native conductor says" (Winsor, 1990:A1); "Injustice and racism in the True North" (Nahwegabow, 1990:C6); "Flaws in the law stack odds against native people" (Hall, 1989a:A7); "Native people facing worst discrimination, report says" (Delacourt, 1989:A8); "Near 1 in 4 family murders among natives, study says" (Fine, 1989a:A1); "Native task force recommended to combat child sexual abuse (Fine, 1990a:A10); "Natives to resume logging blockades" (Grant, 1989:A9); "Ojibway band gets compensation 32 years after dam flooded land" (York, 1989:A8); "Minorities go toe to toe with majority" (Drainie, 1989:C1, C11); "Indians in the prison of cliche" (Healy, 1989:C6); "The shocking truths of a violated culture" (Cuff, 1989a:A12); "Study sees little harm in Labrador NATO base" (Koring and Cox, 1989:A1, A2); "NATO centre would be 'push over the cliff' for Innu, court told" (1989:A9); "Inuit excluded from Arctic pollution meeting" (1989:A10); "Native woman chosen as Ontario ombudsman" (1989:A14); "Chinese actor's career thriving after 22 years as political pariah" (Wong, 1989a:A1, A9); "In China, no one can hide from granny patrols: Paid by state to spy" (Wong, 1989c:A1, A9); "Forgotten poor in China are denied any stake in economic success story" (Wong, 1989b:A1, A5); "Pursuit of personal wealth creates misery...," (Fine, 1989b:A10), and so forth.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND: WHAT IS CULTURE? WHAT IS SOCIETY? AND HOW DO THE ARTS FIT IN?

> Sitting Bull was swept along in his own life by dramatic change and he went from being a powerful leader to performing in a Wild West show and meeting the Queen....Sitting Bull "wasn't bound by his own culture, but was a willing participant in human affairs." (Carl Beam, as quoted in McLuhan, 1984:8)

> Culture is not an elitist term. (Courtney, 1982:138)

> Every society has more to apprehend from its needy members than from the rich. (See the definition of *society*, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1971:2902)

> The arts are not for a privileged few but for the many...their place is not at the periphery of society but at its centre...they are not just a form of recreation but are of central importance to our well-being and happiness. (*The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects*, as quoted in Schafer, 1982:Foreword, n.p.)

We all belong to groups or cultures that function in ways that make possible and make difficult our participation in the greater community (society). Even so, answering the question, what is culture, is not easy. Looking up the word in the *Oxford English Dictionary* has already been done by Dick Hebdige in his (1979) book, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, where he demonstrates that "culture is a notoriously ambiguous concept" (p. 5). Nowhere else is this made quite as apparent as in the 167 anthropological definitions and treatments of the word *culture* by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952). The meaning of the word has been transformed in an often "contradictory" fashion throughout the history of its usage (Hebdige, 1979:5) and there may be as many meanings of the word *culture* as there are remaining "cultures." What it means today is still a matter of debate.

Culture has been defined as the "fabric" (Geertz, 1957:33) or "structure of shared meanings" (Aronoff, 1983:2), in other words, the form, through which individuals shape their experience, but at present it is most likely taken to be an "abstraction full of traits" (Carl Urion, personal communication, Sept. 23, 1988).

Trying to stay afloat or to come into a state of equilibrium with something greater than themselves, something which has existed before and which will exist after any individual's presence on this planet, that is, trying to understand culture and what it means, human beings are encompassed in a *sea* of potential meaning. In their groups or cultures, human beings are placed in relationships of agreement and alliance with members of their culture, relationships which can be likened to a "Mariner's Compass" and the readings on it; in other words, culture is a package delivered by symbols, which is learned and passed from generation to generation, provides order and meaning, determines one's direction or position, and is notably employed in the guidance of an individual's course through life. This is, however, also dependent upon personality. Although "very little is known about the amount of personality variance in different [cultures and] societies," according to cultural anthropologist, Marvin Harris (1987), "culture and personality are closely related concepts" concerned with the form or patterning of thoughts, feelings and behavior (pp. 324, 346). Whereas "personality is primarily a characteristic of individuals; culture is primarily a characteristic of groups" (Harris, 1987:346).

For an individual, culture is the compass. It is more dynamic or relational than structural. It changes and is never static. Culture is the mediator of meaning and of change, the range and scope for determining a course through life, that is; it is the values, beliefs, and assumptions, and the knowledge, about which the community turns. The ideational order of reality, therefore, is culture; it is a group-specific phenomena that is mainly non-observable (inside people's heads) and is learned from interacting with other members of a culture.

It is not possible to predict an individual's response to any *other* encountered on the basis of his or her culture. Culture is more a reading of a communal dynamic. Culture is often only recognizable in the form it takes "post-talk" (Carl Urion, personal communication, Feb. 15, 1990). Brian Sutton-Smith (1988) provides many examples of cultural concepts which are evident "post-talk" in his "In Search of the Imagination":

> Throughout history, particularly oral history, the imagination has been tightly harnessed to many other needs of the particular social group. It has had to carry the load of memory, and it has had to directly reinforce the prestige of the speaker at the time of telling, beyond the content of the speech. In oral cultures, for example, traditional narratives (as one form of imagination) often include reference to the actual speaker and the actual audience at the time, and may incorporate visitors in an imaginative manner. Today in classrooms we differentiate between personal narratives, which deal with real life events (and are scripts), and fictional narratives, which are fanciful.... Very young children mix these two together; oral cultures also mix them together. When personal reference continues to be an important element in one's hierarchies and there are no other, more impersonal means (money, clothes, housing, grades) of pegging one's status, then these older usages of the imagination continue. (p. 20)

Harris (1987) quotes Adam Fergusson (an 18th-century Scottish philosopher) who said that the forms of human society "even in what are termed enlightened ages are made with equal blindness toward the future" (p. 61). If, as Fergusson says, cultural systems are "indeed the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design," (as quoted in Harris, 1987:61), it becomes apparent that we are again talking about the form that culture takes. Whether culture is the play with form that human experience shapes or whether this form is designed by some supernatural other is best left to the philosophers and to the great artists of the world. But Harris adds,

> We alone have conscious self-awareness, which many people regard as the most important attribute of human nature....What is often forgotten is that our minds are subject to restraints that do not affect the mental life of other organisms. Since we live by culture, our minds are shaped and channeled by culture....[Even] language does not necessarily give us freedom of thought; on the contrary, it often traps us into delusions and myths. Because we live by culture and because our minds are molded by culture, we have more to become aware of than other creatures. We alone must struggle to understand how culture controls what goes on inside our heads. Without this additional level of awareness, the human mind cannot be said to be fully conscious....To become fully conscious we must strive to

> understand how culture controls what we think and do.
> (Harris, 1987:61, 63)

When cultural concepts differ from what is understood and recognized by members of the dominant culture, the allowable forms of imagination and cultural expression are restricted, often with dire results for a subordinate culture. Sutton-Smith (1988) says, "Presumably many minority children have difficulty in schools because, among other things, their chosen forms of narrative are…seen merely as lies" (p. 21). This restriction is also a problem for the artist as it is almost impossible to predict the artist's next direction or response, and it is annoyingly probable that an artist will frustrate and/or even subvert predictions and assumptions:

> Artists are seldom content with established ways of doing things; they are constantly struggling to discover new ways of doing things—new forms, textures, shapes and combinations….it is the artist who is responsible for much of the dynamic of society. This is why artists are commonly regarded as the "antennae of the race" since they are always picking up new signals and setting new patterns in motion. (Schafer, 1982:10)

This must be very frustrating for educators who deal with minority children and/or artists. This problem of verification or credibility is not only difficult for the artist and for very young children, also for members of oral cultures and for women, perhaps for everyone.

In the same way that culture operates as a communal dynamic so the "arts are always the index of social vitality, *the moving finger that records* the destiny of a civilization" [my emphasis]" (Sir Herbert Read as quoted in Schafer, 1982:8). While artists themselves have "forecast the kind of alienation from others that lies behind the modern tradition of the imagination" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:21), in essence, they are giving an accurate reading of a cultural malaise which has implications for education and the arts.

Today, educators have become so increasingly preoccupied with technical considerations, such as predictability, objectivity, and verification, which "amounts to 'straightening deck chairs on the Titanic'" ("Dean of Education contends that extremes of individualism are eroding community values," 1989:2). And perhaps as a result, educators have failed to account for culture, minority individuals have become divorced from their culture, and artists become cut off from cultural roots and become imprisoned behind institutional walls (Schafer, 1982:5): "walls that shut out the poor, the addict, the oppressed, the abused and the disadvantaged" ("Dean of Education...," 1989:2). In Canada, for example, Conway says, "All too often, quality echoes the values of Canada's male-dominant, middle-class white culture," and anything else is "viewed as ancillary or, at worst, an aberration" (1989:A7). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* definition of the word *bias* states emphatically that statistically this representation of quality is a distortion by exclusion of the neglected (Sykes, 1982:86). Juliet McMaster reveals that this has become a modern day refrain, and she says, "We should be making conscious efforts to reduce the effects of unconscious bias in ourselves and others" ("Defining Excellence...," 1990:1). Concepts such as *individuality, universality, objectivity, play, imagination*, and *excellence* have all become problematic for educators because they refuse to acknowledge culture.

Formal learning institutions, in common with other social organizations, carry within themselves constraints to change, in effect, a "hidden curriculum":

> what is learned [is] from the structure rather than the content of interaction. It is often seen as a means of control involving the imposition of middle-class culture on the working class or of adult culture on children and/or as a mechanism by which...itself is reproduced. (Woods and Hammersley, 1977:14)

Education, culture, and the arts are not separate domains, and yet, "the educational establishment has 'become so preoccupied with our separate domains that in so many ways we've lost that ability to work together to deal with these issues'" ("Dean of Education...," 1989:2). The way that arts and sciences, two different but complementary ways of knowing the world around us, have become separated in our minds reflects the system "which houses different disciplines in different buildings" (Hebdige, 1979:13), reflects the separation and marginalization of arts education in schools and in society

(Robinson, 1988). This acts as a barrier to the integration of arts education with other disciplines, in effect, as a barrier to the affective, imaginative, intuitive, social, and creative aspects of the mind or ways of knowing the world around us and to our ability to adapt ourselves to change (Robinson, 1988). This barrier to the imagination is a serious problem as the central and major use of the imagination by children and others who have been subordinated or ignored in the past "is to remove from themselves the stigma of their powerlessness, their detachment from the real world, their lack of apprenticeship, and their subordination" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:26).

This is "a deep-seated and multi-faceted problem," a problem which derives from many different causes, ranging from the very nature of the artistic, educational, and cultural process to our understanding of how these processes intersect with modern technology (Schafer, 1982:5).

Interestingly, people's theatre, with its intent to revitalize and organize culture, to bring cultural knowledge and experience back into the classroom and the community, and to provide an awareness of the form that culture takes as we move into the future, is a response to this problem made by artists who *have* "evolved the methods and techniques which are urgently needed by citizens and professionals alike to improve the aesthetic quality of their environmental surrounding, their personal habitats and the products they produce and consume" (Schafer, 1982:5).

Culture, like consciousness, is still a great unknown which defies description and/or prediction by "any mechanistic models" applied to it (Carl Urion, personal communication, Feb. 15, 1990). Perhaps this is an indication of the separation of education, culture, and the arts and a challenge to educators for today and for the future: to get at the integration of this knowledge, of knowledge and experience, and of problem-centred learning; to help students to acquire skills and attitudes in relation to the needs and circumstances of their classrooms, their cultures, their communities, and their futures. Trying to pin down the meaning of the word *culture* is more a narrative than a scientific concern and like "the narrative mode of mind...must be thoroughly contextualized if it is to be understood" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:22).

Culture as an Internal System

> We are imprinted, at an early age, by forces of such magnitude that we are forever thereafter obliged to repetition of the same few patterns, endless variations of the same thin script. This is an attractive thought, as are all such mystical notions, for it frees us from the burdens of choice and responsibility, laying the blame, instead, at the feet of our parents and culture. We can surrender the struggle for well-being and console ourselves with the idea that it was never in fact available to us.
>
> Of course, this is nonsense. Opportunities for transformation are as plentiful as the stars, as the paintings in a museum, as you yourselves. (Cohen, 1990:62)

From the moment of being born, a human being contacts the *other*—inanimate objects, living creatures, supernatural and/or abstract *others*—and imitates. An "anthropological" definition of culture from UNESCO's (1983) report on *Classroom Use of Artistic and Cultural Heritage*, which has as its stated aim "to strengthen the interrelationship between education and culture," refers to three human interactions: "human to human, human to nature, and human to the supernatural" (p. 6).

The first *other* a human being is subjected to is "mother." In *The Perceptual World of the Child*, T.G.R. Bower describes what happens in human to human relationships in his studies of imitation between mother and infant no more than hours old (although the studies deal with mother-infant relationships, imitation is a life-long human interactive/communication process);

> In one, a baby is propped up face to face opposite his mother. She begins to stick her tongue out at him. Usually the baby stares raptly at his mother's face and tongue for awhile, and then begins to stick his tongue back out. Suppose the mother then shifts to fluttering her eyelashes at the baby. The baby will quickly flutter his eyelashes back at her. If she next starts to open her mouth, the baby will follow suit, shifting to imitative mouth-opening as well. (1977:28)

These observations imply that a baby's perceptual image is elaborate enough for him or her to understand and to identify parts of his or her body with parts of other people's bodies. Bower reminds us that these are newborn babies who have not done any of the self-discovery things that adults can do, and this capacity for imitation has implications well beyond perception. According to Bower, it suggests that a newborn recognizes and explores his or her humanness and his or her membership in a communal bond or structure with others, right from the start, and immediately begins to explore this capacity to empathize or to be like the *other*, in effect, the affective and social aspects of the mind (1977:28-30).

Human to human interaction, even at this primal stage, is for a very important purpose; it is survival-oriented, an integral part of affirming self-identity in a protective yet challenging external environment and of determining culture in relation to others. To establish a sense of common interest in the well-being of one another may be crucial in terms of how we understand the world and social well-being. It is also what the arts, and more specifically, the origins of the theatre, are all about: an integrated complex, all-inclusive, a one and indivisible omnibus wherein human to human interaction is but one of the three possible human interactions taking place concurrently as the participant engages actively in his or her learning.

That the function of theatre "was originally protective is more especially seen in the play of [so-called] primitive people who as adults...reflect in their games the problems of mature life, the struggle for food and the preservation of life" (Hunningher, 1961:12). In this example, it is very difficult to separate out the domains of education, culture, and the arts.

If we turn to the origins of the theatre it is necessary to understand that this was central: imitation, making meaning, interpreting life as it is lived, and communicating these interpretations to others in a meaningful way that can be understood by others to effect a collaborative problem-solving process. In people's theatre it still is central. We would not have been able to survive if we had not had the capacity to take our imaginative inner life and play with it, imitating the external environment and the characters within it for the purposes of communicating with others who are like ourselves. People's theatre also has the potential to help us to see what we have in common with *others* who are different from ourselves. People's theatre is a way that arts education can be "utilized to advantage to help people to comprehend the evolution of their own cultural traditions as well as the traditions and values of other people" and "from this derives a willingness to accept similarities and differences among various races and creeds" (Schafer, 1982:35).

Human to nature interaction is also a formative constituent of this organic unity, which is education, culture, and the arts. The earliest human beings' lust for life set them off on a head-banging collision course with the external environment, with its unpredictability and its predictability. Survival was and is of the utmost importance, and upon this one essential was built the master plan of civilization. In order to survive—and we have survived thus far through the capacity of our primal and playful imitative forces—human beings must strive appropriately to cope with the awesome, difficult, and treacherous nature of the "real" world. Earliest human beings could either flee or fight: So that they might live out one more season under the canopy of the stars, earliest human beings tried to cope with the terrifying reality by making it not only less unpredictable but also by searching for meaning and interpretation (a communal construct) and efficient ways to communicate their cultural knowledge and experience. But today, as Schafer (1982) points out,

> We live in an age of concern over the environment. In part, this concern stems from the impact of contemporary technology, which, particularly in the highly-industrialized nations, has caused serious environmental damage and has forced recognition of the fragile nature of ecological systems. (p. 15)

Certainly this is the arts greatest potential, and a potential of which people's theatre has a lion's share, not only for mediating the relationship between education and culture and for making meaning, interpretation, and communication possible but also for helping us to understand that

> People enter into a reciprocal arrangement with the environment. If they treat the environment with disrespect, or fail to take the consequences of their actions in account, the environment will strike back by affecting people in some adverse way, the way a polluted environment does by destroying the mood and morale of people. Conversely, if they treat the environment with respect, the environment will respond favourably by acting as a source of joy and inspiration. (Schafer, 1982:15-16)

It might be interesting to note that we live in an age of concern over the increasingly fragile nature of cultural systems to adapt to rapid change

Schafer (1982) points out, there is a dual responsibility for the arts here:

> On the one hand, they are needed to increase people's consciousness of the aesthetic disintegration of their environments, thereby stimulating their interest in actions to prevent it. On the other hand, they are needed to enhance the quality of human environments in order to make them more responsive to people's needs. (p. 17)

One might want to draw a parallel with how people's theatre has arisen as a way to increase people's cultural consciousness and to stimulate their interest in engaging in reflection, dialogue, and in taking action(s).

So what is standing in the way of human to nature interaction in the schools? Is it the same barrier(s) that we find with regards to some schools' lack of cultural responsiveness? Even if we admit that "dreams are universal and so are stories," and even if we take into account that dreams and stories are culturally-relative concepts, the power of science (and technology) has made us believe that it is the *only* kind of thinking (Sutton-Smith, 1988:22). However, it is not the power of science itself as Sutton-Smith says, it is the way some people exclude all else but science from contributing to a definition of the world.

- Bretherton's (1984) discovery in recent developmental psychology research

> that children remember their scripts better than their categories has turned more attention to the fact that the mind works better as a narrator than a categorizer. As a result, we are suddenly at liberty to realize that the imagination as narrative is contributing to the linguistic mode of intelligence just as much as the imagination as logic is contributing to the logical mode of intelligence....The science that derives from physics and mathematics is a science of verification; the science that derives from linguistics and narratives is a science of interpretation. (as quoted in Sutton-Smith, 1988:22-23)

And this would seem to be another call for the integration of the arts and sciences to understand the learning process, of which our (cultures') stories play a part.

People's theatre is not just a form of entertainment, of recreation, but rather a rehearsal of a number of ways (alternatives) that will help the individual to know him or herself and to find his or her "fit," that is, where she or he fits in with the particular group/community. It is a very effective way to provide an understanding of the process of a person's life and to map a way (filled with choice and responsibility) that may ultimately foster social well-being.

Although human beings have innate ability to become the "other," to transform, to change and to imitate both the natural environment and its creatures, the adult like the child, "is constantly exploring in...analytic and constructive ways," which we "in our disregard" called "play," but which in fact "are direct acts of intelligent exploration, discovery, imitation, mastery, construction, and imagination" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:23). Sutton-Smith (1988) implies that we must differentiate the imagination from other symbolic forms, that we take it much more seriously rather than repressing this kind of expression, and that we permit it and civilize it into even more magnificent dreams and stories. He asks how schools and, in essence, how all social institutions can be planned "to allow for their continuous reconstruction at the service of their imaginative members" (pp. 23, 27). People's theatre has the power to take these stories and analyze them, refining our communicative abilities and situating the knower or the storyteller not only in his or her culture, but also in the classroom where members of different cultures can interact in a positive and constructive manner.

Like culture the imagination is relative,

> being deployed differently in different cultures and subcultural groups...it is plural, being used differently in the intelligences of logic, language, space, music, and the body or those of a social or intuitive kind...and finally...it is deeply connected to the antithetical strains of human culture, because it is after all the playground of the subjective, the domain where the opposites and the alternatives can be faced or fêted. (Sutton-Smith, 1988:27)

Historically, the theatre of earliest oral cultures was a fête: an integrated complex of story, illustration (paintings and drawings), song, and dance. The educational value of the theatre, and of the arts as an integrated whole, has been recognized from earliest times and more recently by "such well-known scholars as Goethe, Rousseau, Dewey, Whitehead, Barzun, Read and Piaget," but it is not only recognized by scholars (Schafer, 1982:32-33). Schafer says, "Many recent surveys have revealed that most adults not only regret their own lack of arts education, they are also anxious to see this mistake corrected in the education of their children" (1982:33). People's theatre is such a celebration. It is an integration of multiple symbolic forms whereby a meaningful world can be created for all members of a culture, classroom, and community. Like the imagination and culture, people's theatre is a group construct that "has little to do with objectivity, predictions, and verifications; rather, it has to do with consensual support, impartial readings, and verisimilitude" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:22). People's theatre has "many fundamental pedagogical qualities" in common with all the arts:

> For example, in the visual arts, there is structure, proportion, perception, perspective. In sculpture, there is mass, shape, form and texture. In music, there is rhythm, harmony and counterpoint. In dance, there is balance, movement, muscle control and physical coordination. In theatre and mime, there is tragedy, comedy, satire, humour and pathos. These are qualities that are encountered again and again in life, regardless of one's profession or walk of life. (Schafer, 1982:33)

The primal communication between infant and mother includes play and ritual which fosters the child's sense of self and integrates him or her into the environment. Human beings have an innate ability to imitate and to imagine, which is more than likely a survival mechanism and which helps them to fit in or blend in with their environment and to take on the constructs or rules by which the others operate. The arts, which exploit the imitative and imaginative aspects of human beings, must be placed "at the very core of the educational curriculum" as is their natural and primal place: "This is essential if the arts are to be placed in the best position to contribute fully to life-long learning" (Schafer, 1982:36).

Human to supernatural interaction is likely the one component that is the most problematic, although it need not be. This aspect of the theatre deals with concepts that are culturally-relative, but because of the religious or spiritual implications are highly controversial at a time when cultures are beginning to want to express themselves and their beliefs.

Theatre not only exists in the realm of the explainable, the ordinary or profane realms, it also exists in the realm of the unknown, the sacred realm: it is a world of illusion and make-believe yet having the appearance of being true. Theatre allows for the interaction of these realms in as many ways as there are cultures. For theatre engages the imagination and, as Ionesco says, expresses "simply what cannot be expressed by any other means...a complexity of words, movement, gestures that convey a vision of the world inexpressible in any other way" (as quoted in Brussel, 1988:564). Theatre is the place where "many imaginative alternatives are clearly possible to imaginative people" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:27). Harris (1987) says, "every society has its *sacred* beliefs, symbols and rituals, which stand opposed to ordinary or *profane* events" (p. 259). Theatre which may bring into closer view ordinary or profane events but which usually takes place in "liminal" time, may be defined according to sociologist Emile Durkheim, in its sacred context, as "the worship of collective life" (as quoted in Harris, 1987:260).

Theatre has the "ability to appeal to the sacred character of certain beliefs and practices" and thus "has great practical value in diminishing dissent, compelling conformity, and resolving ambiguities" (Harris, 1987:260).

Through theatre, we are able to utilize the primal forces of imitation and the imagination: We play at what we are; we are the playthings of the gods. Thus in the origins of the theatre, man or woman is an active participant. Through this innate ability to imitate the environment, early human beings incorporated the natural order. The rhythms of life—day and night, the coming of Spring, winter's sleep, birth and death, sexual awakening, and so forth—all aroused an imaginative response in the human being as child, artist, and shaman. In ancient fertility rites, humans imitate with the expectation that like produces like and also that the creator (or the gods) who might be watching experience pleasure in the reenactment and thus might answer fervent prayers so that Spring might come again and that the earth will produce what humankind so desperately relies on; for instance,

> among the Arunta the men of the witchetty grub totem perform a series of elaborate ceremonies for multiplying the grub which the other members of the tribes use as food. One of the ceremonies is a pantomime representing the fully-developed insect in the act of emerging from the chrysalis....This is supposed to multiply the number of grubs. (Frazer, 1961:9)

Human beings seek this knowledge, ultimately, to make their external environment less unpredictable, less chaotic, less meaningless. As in Genesis I:27, "So God created man in his own image," a human being looks to him or herself, as imitator and dreamer, for the answer to the riddle of: who is God? and thus, who am I?

In 1640, "when Descartes secluded himself from the world in a hot Bavarian stove to keep warm and said 'I think, therefore I am,'" he told a tale of a kind of alienation from others that "announced a major revolution in human history": "a solipsistic, egocentric, narcissistic, and alienated postulate" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:15, 16, 21). In 1740, Hume,

> Thinking about the world in this way and trying to understand how anything can exist out of the human mind, which he reduced to the individual senses...was forced to acknowledge uneasily that object constancy can hardly be maintained unless there is some other property of the human mind that "imagines" the objects to be there when we are not looking at them. We not only feign the idea of their constancy...but we believe it. The empiricist Hume was forced logically to such a position, given that he believed true knowledge came only through the senses, but he was full of distaste for it. He said, "I cannot conceive how such trivial qualities of the fancy, conducted by such false suppositions, can ever lead to any solid and rational system." (Sutton-Smith, 1988:15)

This would seem a rather harsh attack against just such a way of knowing that is derived from the interaction between members of a culture and that understanding which comes through the senses, which is communally-constructed.

Unlike Hume, the German "idealist" philosophers reacted

> to the plight of contemporary humanity in an increasingly industrial, impersonal, technological, and secular world. Given the contemporary disenfranchisement of scholars from political power, of artists from patronage and academies, and of apparently everyone from craftsmanship and beauty, they sought *to find a source in the individual himself* of what was hopeful, beautiful, and good in the everyday world [my emphasis]. (Sutton-Smith, 1988:16)

It was not until about 1800 that the imagination "appeared on the Western philosophical scene as an important conceptualization of the individual psyche" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:15). Sutton-Smith points out, "It took the earlier individualism of the Renaissance and 100 years more to lead people to the kind of reductionism that has become the major tradition in modern psychological thinking" (1988:15). This modern psychological reductionism seeks to reduce "human behavior to homunculi in human heads, I.Q.s, traits, conflicts, egos, and SAT profiles" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:15). In such a way, perhaps, have artists and culture become increasingly disconnected, that is, when communication between the two was rendered impossible because the communal bond was negated, seen as insignificant, or purposefully destroyed.

It would be interesting to investigate the spiritual element which is missing from so many social theories due to such an abstraction. This removal of the human being from his or her culture and from his or her environment is what Ann Drake, a social worker at the Health Sciences Centre, Winnipeg, finds extremely disturbing.[1] Her report, entitled "Child Sexual Abuse and Living as Adult Women: Connecting Our Experience with Academic Debate," discusses a recent edition of a modern bible, "DSMIII" (American Psychiatric Association, 1987)—the bible of psychiatrists and other mental health professionals and one whose categories are generally recognized by courts, hospitals, and insurance companies— which labels and perpetuates the "victim" or modern view of the individual as a psychological phenomena in order to describe his or her behavior. Drake says,

> These labels, these diagnoses called Borderline Personality Disorder, as well as others, are particularly common in women with a history of victimization. Research completed by Judith Hermann (1985) and published in the *American Journal of Ortho-psychiatry* [1986]...demonstrated that a history of victimization makes a woman 4 times as likely to be diagnosed with Borderline Personality Disorder. (1989:4)

Drake says, "It seems that the secret surrounding abuse has been quite safe in psychiatry" (1989:4). It is the secrets of the past (for example, of alienation from culture and context) which are more and more coming to be examined by the persons themselves who are most affected by such "labels" or "images." Drake says,

> This new label/new diagnosis "Self-Defeating Personality Disorder" describes the behavior of the female adult survivor quite accurately. But, and this a big BUT, shows no understanding of the individual's history and life experiences which may be rooted in violence....It seems ironic that an individual would go from a highly abusive, confusing home situation to be cared for by a social program or institution managed by well-meaning caretakers (psychiatrist, nurses, social workers) when these caretakers look at the victim and only see weakness of character. They

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[1] In her November 11, 1989 address to the thirteenth annual and first Northern conference of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

> are as abusive and confusing as the abuser him or herself. This has a destructive effect on the victim's future perceptions of authority figures, as well as on self-esteem. Instead of understanding the process of a person's life and mapping a therapeutic way out, the profession compounds the blow. Thereby creating problems—not softening the blow. (1989:5)

Caplan in *The Myth of Masochism* (1987) says that this is a reflection of

> a woman's adaptation to the misogyny in our society, an obedient execution of the traditional female role…women trying to avoid or minimize rejection and risk in our culture learn to put other people's needs before their own, and to ignore their own needs. (as quoted in Drake, 1989:6)

Caplan goes on to say that "it seems bizarre and destructive to call such behaviour an indicator of serious psychopathology, to label our obedience as sick and then punish us for being compliant" (as quoted in Drake, 1989:6). Drake considers Borderline Personality Disorder and all the traits of a Borderline Personality Disorder as behaviours learned in family "in order to survive, usually in life and death situations" (1989:6). Modern diagnoses that label women as sick is a part of the traditional view that as women, "we bring all our problems upon ourselves" (Drake, 1989:6). Dr. Susan Penfold, Vancouver Children's Hospital (B.C.)

> points out that irrespective of the prevailing psychiatric theory, psychiatrists have always regarded women as being weak. When the prevailing theory was psychoanalytical, women were perceived to be at the root of all disorders. Schizophrenic mothers were thought to be responsible for causing schizophrenia in their children. Battered women were thought to derive some titillation from the abuse. Although these stories are now outdated, residual sexism remains. (as quoted in Drake, 1989:7)

What Drake sees as important is that we need to know that the health problems and other problems we may have previously defined as individual failings are common to others (in other words, may be culturally contextualized) and that they are often the result of societal and cultural circumstances (1989:7). In this sense, we have social problems that have been defined as medical conditions, and as educators, there are many instances where there are social problems defined as educational conditions. The word *iatrogenic*, which means diseases and/or problems caused unintentionally by a doctor through his or her method of diagnosis, manner, or treatment (see *The Oxford Paperback Dictionary*, 1983:321) is similar to those problems caused by an educator's intervention and deserves its own word, namely, *pedagenic*.

Drake's creative line of thinking has allowed her to see the similarity between what is recognized as the Torture Syndrome vs. Borderline or Self-Defeating Personality: "When a clearly defined traumatic event occurs, we have the Post-traumatic Stress disorder, rather than the deficiency of a traumatized victim" (1989:7-8). She sees the similarities between Torture Syndrome and family violence as striking, although the difference is in the attitude of the observer and his or her focus upon the cause: "In Torture Syndrome, the cause for psychiatric disorder is the life event; but with family violence the psychiatric disorder is the Personality herself and very rarely himself" (Drake, 1989:9). Quite contrary to this, Belenky, Clinchy, Boldberger, and Tarule regard women's own experience (her story) and inner voice as important contributors to truth and knowing (as quoted in Drake, 1989:2).

In the recent (1983) *Handbook of Child Psychology* (a kind of bible for child psychologists), Sutton-Smith reveals that the way the concept of *play* is seen "as intrinsically motivated, guided by organism-dominated questions, free from externally imposed rules, and characterized by active engagement" is "supposedly being defined in an objective way" is also actually still culturally reflective of selected male philosophers and also of the male-dominated Western Romantic emphases:

> For Kant, the faculty of the imagination unites our direct experience with our reason. For Schiller, the imagination or play gives rise to art, and art makes possible sound moral judgement. But, more importantly, it is because of this intrinsic activity of the imagination that we are made free and autonomous. The imagination is the source of our freedom and freedom was the key concept in the Romantic period. Wordsworth announced in 1800 that poetry is the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings." John Stuart

> Mill in 1833 praised the lyrical over the epic, the spontaneous over the belabored, the subjective over the objective, and soliloquy over the theatric. (Sutton-Smith, 1988:16)

The point here is not to say that arts education can solve all an individual's problems, but it may be able to provide for imaginative and creative thinkers to use their knowledge for purposes of integration:

> By stretching across all the human faculties, they can be used to assist in the development of total human beings. By appealing simultaneously to the sense, the soul and the intellect, all the faculties are brought together to form a homogeneous whole. In this case, there is a discernible orientation toward humanism; they afford all people with an opportunity to understand the limits of specialization, such as growing fragmentation of the faculties and division of the personality. In so doing, they contribute to the realization of well-balanced and integrated individuals. (Schafer, 1982:34)

Also, at one time, "it was felt that people's education should be oriented towards narrow career training," and as a result, "people were educated to perform specific…functions" (Schafer, 1982:34). A number of factors have served to change this traditional view: "the rapid rate of employment turnover and the increased dependency on automation" to name two (Schafer, 1982:34). Schafer says, "What has been discovered is that narrowly-trained people are unable to adjust to new employment situations as their jobs are terminated or redefined due to technological change" (1982:34). Today,

> more and more attention is being given…to training creative individuals, individuals who are able to respond to changing conditions because they have learned to use their mental and physical capabilities in constructive ways. It is this encounter with creativity that enables people to fashion new patterns of living. (Schafer, 1982:34-35)

In their study "Teacher Demand and Supply in Western Canada" (1982), Kapuscinski and Haug suggest that further research is necessary to assist teachers to transfer from one level of teaching to another (for instance, from secondary to elementary), to examine the potential role of technology in education, to look at possibilities for cooperative research in classrooms, to allow well-qualified generalists to teach in several subject areas, to develop and offer new courses in response to student and community needs, to help teachers who are hesitant to teach subjects, grade levels, and groups of students for which they are not prepared, and to address cross-cultural education, special education, design of individualized programs using educational television, programmed instruction, and computer-assisted instruction, in other words, to identify the specific areas of need and/or to analyze the social and organizational changes confronting educators (as quoted in Schulz and Bacchus, 1990:46-47). Kapuscinski and Haug (1982) conclude that the notion of "teaching" as "one teacher with a class of 35 students at a time, for a full semester," may be out-of-date (as quoted in Schulz and Bacchus, 1990:47). The arts, especially in the form of people's theatre, is a way to deal with the new teaching environment and to keep up with social change and has significance for teacher-training.

People's theatre is a form of the arts not only important in terms of general education but also in the area of special education: People's theatre, along with other art forms, are

> growing in importance for people with specific learning problems, such as...the handicapped, thereby helping them to become positive contributors to society. In recent years, special arts courses have also been devised for students who have difficulty adjusting to traditional classroom situations. These courses make it possible for such students to adjust to the realities of daily life. The arts have also proven extremely useful in the development of students who have exceptional learning abilities. Often these specially-gifted children betray unusual talents, such as the ability to express themselves in prose, poetry or song, or to think imaginatively and intuitively. (Schafer, 1982:35)

In order for arts educational programs to succeed, educators themselves need an effective arts education. The arts have the power to "make learning a pleasant, rich and rewarding experience, thereby instilling positive attitudes towards education and the learning process" and toward culture and the greater community (society); consequently, it is imperative that there be qualified teachers (Schafer, 1982:36). In the wrong hands, arts education, for example, people's theatre, can do far more harm than good. As Schafer (1982) points out, "History teaches us that if the proper precautions are not taken, it can actually become a very negative experience" (p. 36). There is also a need to "expose students to artistic resources outside the schools as well as [to] bring professional groups and individual creative artists into the schools" (Schafer, 1982:36). People's theatre offers a strong link between the classroom, culture(s), and the greater community (society); its main intent is to help its participants experience self-determination within community, and this is essential "if the arts are to be placed in the best possible position to contribute fully to life-long learning" (Schafer, 1982:36).

If, as Schafer (1982) says, "arts education is directed towards the realization of total human beings, it is also directed towards the development of creative human beings" (p. 34). As such, people's theatre represents one of the best vehicles available "for helping people to respond to the complexities and uncertainties of the modern world" (Schafer, 1982:34). It also realizes that human beings have self-affirmative and self-destructive qualities, and in essence, it allows a forum where both can be accepted and channelled for the benefit of culture, classroom, and community. This is why arts education in the modern era is of such critical importance. It is vital that we return the arts to a central place in our schools and in our communities so that we can begin to understand (and to communicate with each other), thus facilitate the adoption of communal standards which are humane and sensitize people to their environment, if only as a reaction against such narrow extremes of thought which characterize many of our traditionally-held concepts.

Play is a culturally relative concept, like so many others we take for granted, which "historical and anthropological evidence shows quite clearly…are not universal" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:16) Yet, the moderns believe that play can be universally defined, in other words, abstracted from culture, despite the fact that "much of what looks like play…takes place in an obligatory sacral context and is often savage and brutal" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:16). However, it is likely that this rather uncivilized meaning of play has been ignored in the modern day context. Ignoring what we consider to be negative and/or cultural aspects of concepts like *play*, *imagination*, *theatre*, and so forth does not necessarily make these aspects go away, rather they just creep underground, with just such a movement's implications for social well-being.

Theatre in its original or natural state provided answers to social questions for oral cultures, and these answers were a culturally-relative collective creation, not an individual abstraction divorced from the group. In their natural world, where perceptual preeminence is given to the things of the senses—those we see, hear, feel, smell, taste—the earliest inhabitants combined and re-combined these natural metaphors in countless ways and derived a particular way of cultural understanding and a creative code for communication. As Schafer puts it, the value of this form of early people's theatre is not limited to basic pedagogical qualities; rather, it is training in the discipline required for mastery which helps

> to develop physical and mental dexterities in terms of better use of body, hands, eyes, ears and minds. Building on these rudiments, there is refinement of taste and the critical faculties. An excellent opportunity exists for people to cultivate their sensibilities, placing them in a better position to make sensitive assessments about the quality of their own lives as well as their surroundings. Finally, as well as offering fulfillment and pleasure, the arts bring appreciation of the skills and accomplishments of others. Through exposure to high standards, they emphasize the importance of excellence, an emphasis which is invaluable regardless of one's occupation or station in life. (1982:33)

Early humans, in recombining natural elements and the symbols that stand for them, also elicited an illusory world where perceptual preeminence is *not* given to the things of the senses: A world of the "other," a meeting ground of human and inhuman logic, of the rational and irrational, of nature and culture, of make-believe, that is, the imagination: An illusory world where human beings could use imitation, role-play, and story-telling to derive meaning and a cultural knowledge base for themselves. In their worship of collective life, these early humans played to get at an understanding of creation, and of their creator, and in so doing, they created themselves as a specific group (culture). Theatre in its natural state

> like all linguistic exchange is necessarily with an *other* (and therefore entails rites of hospitality and decorum, codes of behaviour—of welcome, recognition, courtesy, trust, tact, responsiveness, responsibility—toward the other)....We find these rites and codes everywhere realized in masterpieces of human creativity.... (Robertson, 1990:C6)

Schafer says that "people who take the time to learn about the arts will soon discover that artists are committed to excellence and to creativity above all else" (1982:10). But in the modern era, the communication process has been deeply affected by technology and by those whose standards we have imitated blindly in the past, a very selective imitation indeed. Arts education, which intends to remedy this,

> must be matched by numerous other opportunities for artists and the public to interact, engage in on-going dialogues and learn a great deal more about each other. The more artists explain their works to the public, the more the public will prove responsive and sympathetic to artists' works. And the more the public is encouraged to discuss its needs and tastes with the artistic community, the more the artistic community will want to respond to the aesthetic requirements of the public. (Schafer, 1982:9-10)

Before such influences as the futurists, like the Dada artists and Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), a German dramatist and poet, were felt upon the symbolic language of the theatre early in the twentieth century, theatre participants believed that this aesthetic language or symbolic form expressed being, our own and the greater Being that created us. So the early Greeks "envisaged life as a divine lottery in which the Gods played heedlessly with the rest of us": "We were pawns on their playing boards and they occasionally dropped the pieces on the floor" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:6).

Theatre's metaphysics deal with the nature of existence, of god, of truth and knowledge, and of transcendence, that is, the loss of *self* as object to *form*. The philosophical view is that humans need to be other than themselves to escape the limits and tyranny of their own minds, points of view, and subjectivity. Perhaps this is why two experiences which deny or wipe out the self are so important to philosophers and poets: the love/sexual experience and the religious experience (of which theatre plays a part). Theatre is connected to religion in that both art and religion are transcendent:

> And finally, the structure has evolved—drum beat by drum beat, movement by movement—a force which compels a man [or a woman] forward....It is toward the achievement of this—toward the forcing open of the door to the source....
>
> To be made aware, once more, that man [and woman] is of divine origin and is the issue of an heir to an uncounted multitude of hearts and minds; that at the root of the universe the great imperturbable principles of cosmic good endure; and that even under his [or her] torn shirt; his [or her] hunger, the failures of his [or her] heart, his [or her] wit and the errors of his [or her] heart, his [or her] very blood harbors there monumental loa (gods).... (Deren, 1970:248, 250)

We as imitators, in our crude art, hope that we reflect some invisible figure "who dances between" (Deren, 1970:257), and in this way we invent and re-invent our group (culture).

Alexander Alland's (1977) definition of art is a particularly good one to illustrate what it is that we humans do that separates us from apes, and gives us the right to call ourselves the artistic animal (see also Harris, 1987:298): "play with form producing some aesthetically successful transformation-representation" (p. 39).

How we reflect this figure, or how we play with form producing some aesthetically successful transformation-representation, can depend upon our culture. For instance, the early Greeks elevated theatre to an aesthetic language:

> God alone is worthy of supreme seriousness but a man [or a woman] is made God's plaything, and that is the best of him [or her]. Therefore every man and woman should live life accordingly, and play the noblest games and be of another mind from what they are at present....What, then, is

> the right way of living? Life must be lived as play, playing certain games, making sacrifices, singing and dancing, and then a man [or a woman] will be able to propitiate the gods and defend himself [or herself] against his [or her] enemies, and win in the contest. (Plato, 1960:vii, 796)

"Aristotle saith, that Man is the most Mimick of all Animals" (as quoted in Onions, 1955:1252), and surely, human beings' earliest imitations were "survival" oriented. As imitators, humans attempt to fashion a world within the "real" world in which they are not actually conquerors of nor wholly defeated by, a world of order, a predictable world, a world that can be communicated through a symbolic language. If theatre can be seen as human beings' imitative attempts to create knowledge and as an interpretive language, then in theatre, as in all language, cultural beings' "identity and historical presence are uniquely explicit" (as quoted in Robertson, 1990:C6). But going back to Romanticism,

> we can, if we wish, derive almost everything that has happened in art since from this same spirit or romantic defiance of the industrial world and of the conformism of middle class behavior. The varying exuberance, the anarchy, the nostalgia, the fantasia, the aestheticism, the Byronism, and the fictionalism of modern art can all be seen as an estrangement from the technological and mass-media world that has overtaken Western society in the past two centuries. (Sutton-Smith, 1988:16)

In this way, people's theatre now poses art to imitate what we wish to reclaim or revitalize: all those members (and cultures) whose voices have not been heard from before so "that our natural and man-made environments…become humane environments, capable of providing inspiration, re-creation and rejuvenation for all" (Schafer, 1982:20).

But as Harris (1987) points out,

> Revitalization is another category of religious phenomena that cannot be understood apart from political-economic conditions. Under political-economic stress, subordinate castes, classes, minorities, and ethnic groups develop beliefs and rituals concerned with achieving a drastic improvement in their immediate well-being and/or their well-being in life after death. These movements have the latent capacity to attack the dominant groups directly or indirectly through political or military action; on the other hand, they may turn inward and accommodate by means of passive

> doctrines and rituals involving individual guilt, drugs, and contemplation. (p. 294)

However, even before the perceptual world is comprehensible to the child, and before he or she can take on adult meaning, s/he has to learn a great deal about the environment and what s/he can do to affect or change it as s/he begins to direct the use of this perceptual knowledge. Imitation through ritual, play, and theatre is an essential component in acquiring cultural knowledge and for a successfully lived life. Consequently, the inability to imitate limits the ability to communicate, for example, autistic children provide an illustration of the "devastating consequences" of not being able to imitate (in a meaningful way to affect others) (Maclean, n.d.:188; see also Levinson and Osterweil, 1984:131). However, the inability to imitate members of our culture because of the selectivity of what is presented to us may also be a significant barrier to communication and to change.

The dispute about the significance of the theatre, imagination, and play in education as outlined by Sutton-Smith (1988) is a highly complex and culturally relative picture. Basically, it is religious in that it involves the denial or affirmation of a bond between the knower and that which is known, the Something Out There that can to a degree be known and be talked about.

In the way that theatre expressed early humans' being, their own and the greater Being that created them, these participants used carnival or festival, still being used in many places, for instance, in Brazil today: "Carnival is seen by many as the safety valve through which the city's poor vent their frustrations....it is popularly believed that, without Carnival, they would have revolted long ago" (Byrne, 1990:A8). This certainly goes along with what anthropologists like Levi-Strauss (1966) and Victor Turner (1974) have agreed upon; that is,

> the conflictual and binary nature of culture, and the way in which imaginative events like festivals, games, rituals, ceremonies arise as partial solutions to deepseated conflicts that would otherwise lead to war, division, or litigation. In

> these theories the imagination gives rise to imaginary solutions that do in fact palliate and sometimes solve the bitterness of inevitable social division. (Sutton-Smith, 1988:24)

Sutton-Smith (1988) points out that for human beings telling itself is often resolution enough (p. 25). But this does to a large extent depend upon how you tell it, and who you intend to have understand it, especially if what you know is seen to be an interpersonal product that requires a communal standard. There are many examples in art history of how destructive dislocation between artists, culture, and education can be.

An example such as the modern artist Hugo Ball, who was "consciously working with certain traditions of twentieth-century art and literature, especially those founded in the extraordinary second decade of the century," may make this much more explicit (Scobie, 1974:216). Along with the Rumanian Tristan Tzara and the Alsatian Hans Arp, he founded the Cabaret Voltaire in February, 1916, in Zurich. The Cabaret Voltaire "was to be the site of the first phase of Dada, a showcase for all kinds of experimentation in the arts": while Zurich itself "was a centre for...refugees from all over Europe: artists, intellectuals, and revolutionaries (including Lenin)" (Scobie, 1974:217). Hugo Ball, himself, came to Zurich in May, 1915 "as a refugee from the war, a draft-dodger from the German army" (Scobie, 1974:217). This is a particularly good example because it shows the more destructive phases of dadaism, a legitimate if confounding use of theatre, and it shows the ways that artists will often react in unpredictable ways. It is also a good example because it shows how the theatre even in its destructive phase is linked to religion and to movements of the past, and it is an artist's representation of how human beings inability to communicate is destructive for artist and audience when he or she has become estranged or alienated from community and/or is involved in transformation-representation of the world and of his or her place in it, in effect, a symbolic rendering of a great alienation from community, from culture.

Hugo Ball's description of his performance of the famous "gadji beri bimba" recital was to "withdraw into the innermost alchemy of the word" (Scobie, 1974:217). Scobie (1974) says, "The word 'alchemy' is interesting, as it suggests strong links not only with Nietzsche's Dionysiac theory of art but also with Ball's latent (and later recurring) interest in religion" (pp. 217-218). At the climax of his performance, Ball noted that his voice was automatically "taking on the age-old cadence of priestly lamentation, the liturgical chanting that wails through all the Catholic churches of East and West" (as quoted in Scobie, 1974:218). Whereas some reviewers might see Ball's "insistence on alchemy, magic, the evocation of irrational, primitive, Dionysiac emotions through the destruction of the rational content of language," others see it as "diabolic" (Scobie, 1974:218). Ball's biographer Gerhardt Steinke describes Ball's sound poems as "the culmination of the second step of his descent into hell" and as "a form of spiritual death in which his ego received a violent shock by trying to seize the magical contents of the unconscious"; "Ball was suffering a sort of death-agony" (Scobie, 1974:218). Ball describes his famous performance:

> I wore a special costume....My legs were encased in a tightfitting cylindrical pillar of shiny blue cardboard which reached to my hips so that I looked like an obelisk. Above this I wore a huge cardboard coat-collar, scarlet inside and gold outside, which was fastened at the neck in such a way that I could flap it like a pair of wings by moving my elbows. I also wore a high, cylindrical, blue and white striped witch-doctor's hat.
>
> I had set up music stands on three sides of the platform and placed on them my manuscript, written in red crayon....So, as an obelisk cannot walk, I had myself carried to the platform in a blackout. Then I began, slowly and majestically:
>
> *gadji beri bimba glandridi laula lonni cadori gadjama gramma berida bimbala glandri....* (Scobie, 1974:218-219)

Whether or not this performance lead to his eventual nervous-breakdown is an interpretation better left to his biographers, but it is important to note that artists suffer too when they are unable to communicate with their audience. Perhaps this kind of performance was only accessible to other artists and not to laypersons unaccustomed to spectacle that appears meaningless (literally and metaphorically).

Whatever one may think of Ball's sound poetry and the futurists' declaration of the "bankruptcy of normal language," it is a reflection of what problems artists at the time were trying to solve: to create a new, universal, and meaningful symbolic language which idealistically they believed "would put at end to all misunderstanding, strife, and war between people" (Scobie, 1974:220-221). The artists of the time transformed language:

> In the bohemian milieu of the bourgeois declasse from which Cubo-Futurism sprang social degeneracy produced a peculiar offshoot—extreme individualism along with extremely weakly developed social ties—leading to the creation of an exclusively individualist language....attempts based on a fundamental failure to realise the social sense of linguistic phenomena" (Haussmann as quoted in Scobie, 1974:222)

These Dada artists did not get on well with the political leaders of the twentieth century:

> Hugo Ball in his diary, after noting the proximity of Lenin's lodgings to the Cabaret Voltaire, says "Every evening he had to listen to our tirades and our music, whether he enjoyed it or not—I don't know. George Rickey, however, blames Lenin's "antipathy to modern art" directly on his Zurich experience. (as quoted in Scobie, 1974:222)

There will be occasions, according to Schafer (1982), "when artists will seek to destroy what political authorities have struggled to create" (p. 28). Not only can this prove to be "exceedingly troublesome to society" but upon other occasions, "artists may be interested in heating up societies, particularly if they feel these societies are too dependent on outmoded values or rigid adherence to the status quo" (Schafer, 1982:28). And conversely, "there will be occasions when politicians will want to censor artistic expression or exploit the arts for propaganda purposes" (Schafer, 1982:28). Conflict between artists and authorities is inevitable.

Dada as an arts movement of the 1920s "was later to have a vital influence on European drama": "Irrational, nihilistic, and anarchic, it attacked the complacency of so-called 'society,' and set out to arouse its audience's…outrage" (Hartnoll, 1983;204). This movement is still being felt in contemporary deconstructionist forms and in the artists who are being lauded in universities and elsewhere as having something important to say. The problem is and always has been that much of their potential audience cannot understand what they are trying to say. The other important problem is that by deconstructing the language there is an attempt paradoxically to get a "direct emotional confrontation" with "no pausing for intellectualization" (McCaffery as quoted in Scobie, 1974:216). But what in essence is actually happening is that the emotions are rendered in an unclear fashion and the audience is becoming very frustrated that these artists have nothing to say for them in particular. Yet, as Schafer (1982) says, "By combining the senses, the emotions and the intellect, the arts [can] help to develop all the human faculties in consort" (p. 12). Schafer would likely agree that what is still missing is the process which effectively develops all the human faculties in consort within a truly communal standard. People's theatre is just such an effective/affective communicative whetstone. People's theatre combines the senses, the emotions, and the intellect and makes communication possible because it addresses the questions of communication in many varied ways (including literacy and the not so simple mechanics of how to make yourself heard, for instance, training in voice projection): In other words, how to make the inarticulate person articulate (within a communal setting and given a communal standard).

Elite forms of deconstructionist modern art, although as valid as any other, must not be allowed to become the only acceptable form, or lauded form, for it denies and blocks others who are more competent in the social and affective aspects from gaining their due. It also is unclear whether these artists are actually saying anything for it is impossible to evaluate this highly subjective and individualized form divorced from culture: some say that it may actually be the modern Emperor's new clothes.

There is an arts snobbism which translates to certain forms of art being relegated to elite or high culture status. This can be evidenced in an institution's allowed and lauded forms of cultural expression. This can be seen even in highly respected and somewhat benign texts. In its preface, the latest edition of the *Oxford Companion to the Theatre* (1983) makes this very clear:

> The rapid spread of the "alternative" or "experimental" or "other" theatre, which goes under many names, has produced a world-wide flood of new companies, some—and those not necessarily the least important—short-lived, others with some degree of stability.....A tentative selection has therefore been made among those that are associated with improvization, collective creation, happenings, audio-visual experimentation, the woman's movement, etc., as examples of an important modern development....It is as yet too soon to give a balanced account of any such companies. Time must try them, and it may be many years before an assessment can be made of their true value in the development of modern world theatre. Theatre history provides many examples of modest undertakings which have had a global influence, as well as those launched with great éclat which have sunk without trace....Less happily, current economic stringency has imposed a strict limit on the overall size of the work, and we have elected to concentrate on what is known as the "legitimate" theatre.... (Regis, 1983:Preface, n.p.)

This text has chosen to ignore August Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" techniques in Brazil and elsewhere, work that has already had global influence. Popular art forms have traditionally been underrepresented or have seemed to be completely invisible in curricular materials: Such an omission implies that these groups are of less value, importance, and significance to our society. Also, by separating issues related to popular culture from "legitimate" culture, by marginalizing the material from the main body of the text, instructional materials have implied that these issues are less important than and not a part of the cultural mainstream.

This points up that "foremost among these problems is the gap in communications which exists between artists and the general public" (Schafer, 1982:5) and influential members of their community. Opening up communication between artist and audience is as important for the artist as it is for his or her audience; "it is the very essence of art," and "if it is not taking place, the arts are failing humanity" (Schafer, 1982:5). For the sake of the general public, "what matters most is that they feel comfortable with the arts and uninhibited about expressing themselves" (Schafer, 1982:12). However, cultural expression in the past has often been denied status, and this must be addressed in the future so that legitimacy is given to many forms of cultural expression and not just for a selective few. This also means that a greater understanding for how to critically assess cultural forms of expression must also be examined.

Paul D. Schafer, an acknowledged expert on policies for arts and culture and an independent cultural advisor who has worked extensively with UNESCO and the Canadian Department of External Affairs, does not deny that artists have the power to evoke powerful emotions in their audiences, whether positive or negative, and that the arts are the realm where the affective and social aspects of the mind can be further honed:

> Communication is the lifeblood of all artistic activity. It is shared experience; the spark which ignites the communion between artists and audiences. Both groups give something and receive something in return. Artists reveal themselves; they unveil their innermost thoughts and feelings. Audiences respond by taking the time and trouble to react to these courageous statements. Although the result is not always a pleasant experience, it is always a maturing experience. Artists benefit by getting a critical response to their work—a response which often helps to strengthen their creativity or harden their resolve. Audiences gain by coming into contact with some of the most exquisite expression of feelings and profound insights into life that it is possible to encounter. Both groups are essential to the communications process. (1982:8-9)

If everyone's voice can be heard and understood, the arts are seen to be a part of the whole: the life-long human interactive/communications process of acquiring cultural knowledge and experience. Today the arts

> must accept the challenge of the age and inject life, vitality and humanity into our increasingly mechanized and impersonal world. The dissection of man [and woman and child] into specialized segments must be resisted, since this tends to make man [and woman and child] microscopic in his [or her] interests, intolerant in his [or her] opinions and restricted in his [or her] outlook. Rather, the artistic and humanistic conception of the whole, creative [human being] must be pressed to the forefront. (Schafer, 1982:12)

Schafer's point is well-made but he himself is still showing his linguistic bias, one that in 1982 seems outmoded: Curricular materials and texts like this one still "reflect the discriminatory nature of our language," and these "masculine terms and pronouns have denied the participation of women in our society" (Joshee, 1990:4). People's theatre has the power to reveal such biases and to confront them.

Culture and the Theatre Imagination

As the study of newborns suggests, the child comes into the world already knowing a great deal; for instance, the child is aware of his or her humanness right from the start and can pit what s/he knows about the "me" against the "not-me." In play with others, using imitation as well as the other three basic ways in which people learn from their environment, namely, conditioning, cognitive organizing (Levinson and Osterweil, 1984:130), and the narrative mode, the child creates an awareness not only of self in relation to others and to the environment but of who s/he is (identity). According to Bettelheim (1967), "A self if it is not to wither away, must forever be testing itself against the nonself in a process of *active* assertion [my emphasis]" (p. 81). Without the ability to imitate or to play (in essence, to affect *others* as opposed to self alone), autistic children have an "innate inability to form the usual, biologically-provided affective contact with people" (Kanner as quoted in, Levinson and Osterweil, 1984:6). Thus, imitation, imagination, and communication make possible the development of a personality which can deal with the *other* and hopefully to be able to affect it (Bettelheim, 1967:79). Dreaming, playing, and telling our stories to one another are ways to communicate who we are and what we know.

However, Sutton-Smith (1988) has a real problem with the tradition of Western civilization, beginning with the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle who

> dealt the imagination its first and most fatal blow by distinguishing between those kinds of knowing that have more or less direct access to truth and knowledge (philosophy, logic, and ultimately science) and those kinds that they believed could only mimic the others, such as the arts, literature, and play. (pp. 6-7)

This conscious split between the imagination, that is, the creative act, word, and gesture, and its creator's ability to communicate is heightened in modern theatre, beginning with the Dadaists in the second decade of the twentieth century and then with Bertolt Brecht, and others after him, and Brecht's "attempt to develop his own form of EPIC THEATRE, with its hotly debated 'distancing techniques' (alienation) or VERFREMDUNGSEFFEKTE" (Hartnoll, 1983:102). The logic of deconstruction or of meta-communicative styles, when taken to its extreme, is ultimately self-destructive, calls attention to itself, and heralds a new age of "meta-theatre." This is the kind of theatre which comments upon itself, may only be communicable to other artists, and is highly critical of the meaning and interpretation communicable through *any* form of language: "language is indeterminate, and reality elusive" (Robertson, 1990:C6). Thus, rather than communicating, all symbolic language is seen to be either meaningless or deceptive, a reflection of life as a meaningless nightmare of suffering for the disenfranchised, and any attempts to communicate using this or any other form of language comes to nothing: in the philosophical view, human beings as deconstructionists are "masters of emptiness" (Robertson, 1990:C6). Sutton-Smith (1988) says, "Perhaps our belief in imagination as a rather feeble and fanciful kind for children is itself a reflex to our fear of its more blatant and anarchic manifestations in the world of the arts" (p. 17). Brecht himself wrote what are generally considered to be his best plays in later years (1941-1954) when he was able to "combine maturity of vision and depth of expression with a wider sympathy for the human predicament than is found in any of his earlier works" (Hartnoll, 1983:103).

Play would not have survived unless it had (and has) a practical purpose. A human being's knowledge of the world comes to him or her through the senses. This information is retained, and through play, the human discovers that s/he can direct the use of this knowledge creatively, for instance, to create make-believe. Objects can be manipulated creatively and symbolically in make-believe play or games. In *The Origins of Intellect* (1964), John L. Phillips Jr. describes infants' behavior at 18-24 months as "Stage 6: Invention of New Means Through Mental Combinations." In play, the child, at this stage, imitates and begins to direct the use of perceptual knowledge to create his or her own stimuli for the senses. This is done in the world of play, which limits time and space in very much the same way that theatre and "ritual's liminal phase" is "a time and place lodged between all times and spaces defined and governed in any specific biocultural ecosystem...by the rules of law, politics, and religion, and by economic necessity" (Turner, 1982:84). Like the child, the participants in ritual and in theatre use make-believe to erase the physical limits that divide him or her from any *other*.

Make-believe helps us to rely less and less on our senses to explain what we see and know about our world. If we simply relied on our senses, we would not be able to create other worlds for ourselves in fantasy. We would not be able to create art. We would not be able to affect *others*. We would not be able to affect change(s) in the "real" world.

Through new combinations in imaginative play, we can learn to be like the other, cultivating new understandings, and we can create new meanings by erasing the physical limits that separate us from any *other*. Not only in play, but in theatre can we see beyond these limits and celebrate what we have in common. According to Turner (1982), "We *can* learn from experience—from the enactment and performance of the culturally transmitted experiences of others" (p. 19). People's theatre has the ability to provide a forum where artists and their audiences can "transcend economic, social, racial, intellectual and linguistic differences" (Schafer, 1982:28). Schafer points out that

> as a rule, artists are not interested in exploiting such differences. Where they appear in works of art, they usually appear for descriptive purposes, not as forces for disunity. Playwrights may be compelled to use a distinctive linguistic style or the language of a particular class to convey their thoughts....Nevertheless, the object...is not to dwell on differences in order to exploit them or stir up political animosity. Rather it is to communicate the nature of reality or a simple human truth. (1982:28)

People's theatre is not only accessible as an art form, for all people, with little or no previous experience in the arts, it is an "encounter with reality and simple human truth," and contributes to a person's self-identity while helping to "strengthen the human bonds among all people, regardless of country, colour or creed" (Schafer, 1982:28-29). It is an art form that truly reaches "beyond the barriers which separate people in order to bring them closer together" (Schafer, 1982:28). Human beings' need for identity may be satisfied in either positive or negative ways. Because theatrical performances of people's theatre are most conspicuous at communal celebrations, "they provide citizens with a great deal of pride in their cultural achievements, but also they help to expose local, regional and national characteristics," and they do it in a way that fosters "self-esteem, not bloodshed" (Schafer, 1982:29).

The arts provide the perfect setting for furthering the development of the social and affective aspects of the mind as long as they are not taking on an abstracted life of their own as in the modern condition. Sutton-Smith (1988) says that perhaps we *do know* how to teach people to play, to imagine, and to feel, "contexted within the actual cultural life of the people" (p. 6):

> In early infancy some babies have the good fortune to participate with their parents in a positive feast of exuberant diversity, where faces and bodies and gestures and emotions are framed and reframed, postulated and denied,

> crescendoed and diminished with all the mad happiness that medieval adults seldom achieved except by carnival and that modern adults seldom achieve perhaps except in love. (p. 9)

How can this "sensory-motor or enactive or theater imagination," which Sutton-Smith pronounces to be "quite aboriginal with parents who blow 'raspberries' on their babies faces, toss them in the air, tickle them, and play," have become an "accessory to social and physical science, not its font," relegated to "those supplementary exercises that provide motivation, not for unraveling the sources of knowledge themselves" as is the focus in education (1988:7-8, 9). According to the "illustrious neuropsychologist Karl Pribram," as Sutton-Smith elevates him, which is somewhat ironic given his point, the analogical imagination is what permits Pribram's research activity on the brain to work. By providing him "with the images and metaphors" that give his thought direction and which Pribram points out is "central both to the history of science and its future," he is saying that "imagination is the source of knowledge not its imitation" (as quoted in Sutton-Smith, 1988:7). Pribram describes these metaphors, including the notion that "the brain is a telephone exchange, a thermostat, a computer, and a hologram," which at various periods of his life directed his own research activity on the brain and "how at times he faltered for lack of a metaphor to direct his activity when all others seemed to be no longer empirically fruitful" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:7). Historically, this imagination has reunited "nature and culture, the irrational and the rational"; a mechanistic model is perhaps the modern imagination which "supposes itself to be more rational and orderly": "The modern world clearly has a strong preference for the notion of an orderly or rational imagination over the notion of a disorderly or irrational one" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:5, 6). The "hegemony of the sciences is such that the imagination"—with which the theatre is inextricably linked—"has become a largely implicit process in the modern world" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:7).

As Sutton-Smith points out, "All of our current research—and there is now an abundance—shows that parents who play exuberantly and foolishly with their infants give us children who love life and go at it with will and intelligence" (1988:9). In essence, this theatre imagination "originates that revitalization of everyday living that is...the basic meaning of play, of carnival, of recreation, and of leisure" and, in so doing, revitalizes the human spirit (Sutton-Smith, 1988:9) and situates the knower in his or her environment, community, and culture. But once again,

> in education we have generally been opposed to the imagination as a force of an irrational kind or as a primary form of knowledge to be advocated, so we are ill at ease with flexibility and particularly with one of its issues, deception. We force the deceptive under the desk and into the playground. We are just as uncomfortable as Rousseau, who was uncomfortable even with the "arts" of deception, in particular theater. Like Rousseau, we do not mind games and sports, because in them people confront other players directly. But theater is something else. We seldom allow it much access to our curriculum. Rousseau felt that actors are required to practice deception as their art form, and that we the audience learn such self-alienation simply by watching them. While in general few today would agree with Rousseau's view of the desirable noble savage self, nevertheless in practice our unease with the theater in the classroom means we severely restrict that kind of imagination. (Sutton-Smith, 1988:12)

Whereas knowledge and thinking or natural intelligence have become abstracted from culture and play and are seen as respected or respectable adult mental functions, the kinds of thinking which occur when children play, dream, tell stories, and make art are still regarded as merely fanciful, perhaps even delusionary or deceptive (Sutton-Smith, 1988:7). And yet, these activities have the power to strengthen the interrelationship between education, culture, and the arts and to situate the knower in his or her environment with the potential to know it and to affect it and others, in short, to make interpretation, analysis, innovation, and change possible in that which is communally constructed, our human societies.

Our modern day loss of faith in the "theater imagination" means that the theatre, along with the other arts, like storytelling and play, are seen to be bogus, fictitious, or at least, mere imitations of "those kinds of knowing that have more or less direct access to truth and knowledge (philosophy, logic, and ultimately science)" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:5-6). In this sense, theatre and the imagination have become relegated or "confined to 2,000 years of mimicry"[2] (Sutton-Smith, 1988:6). And yet, what it attempts to teach us is that "we are, all of us, all the time, busy constructing our worlds by being role players, by presenting ourselves to others in favorable lights": also the "theater imagination" reveals that

> every piece of interaction in human society can be peeled apart to show the way in which the members contribute to the upkeep of interaction by intense concern, by intense strategy, and by feigning—most of it, of course, done in a quasi-conscious fashion.
>
> What this means is that our very social institutions keep going because of our imaginative maintenance of them. They do not run by themselves. And yet, why is this awareness kept from education? Do we secrete it from children because we disguise it from ourselves? Would we fall into disrepute if we treated our rigid myths as flexible and imaginative constructions for carrying on life in the meantime? (pp. 12-13)

The "theater imagination" moves us to become socially competent when it is taught and allowed to express itself. It allows us a forum where we can become free of conventions and free of conventional appearances, to experiment, to try on different masks and roles, and to understand others' responses to these components of our identity. It educates our emotions, that is, which to conceal and which to express and how and when it is appropriate to do so. Surely it is "the very hegemony of authoritarian routines" in the classrooms which creates a kind of duplicity or social alienation and social subjugation which children must learn and are learning in order to survive. While we show our blindness to our humanity and to the humanity of others when the "theatre imagination" is left out of the classroom and relegated to the playground, as Sutton-Smith states "savages" would certainly teach them: "Playground learning is a learning of politics, of gullibility, of dissimulation, of parody and mockery, of how to acquire prestige and power" (1988:10). Playground learning is to school learning as is *Lord of the Flies* (Golding, 1962) to whatever can be garnered from a prescribed classroom textbook. We must ask ourselves as educators whether we want to continue to ignore or whether we want to access and refine the internal structures (of the subconscious and the unconscious) which are constantly operative and shape the external structures of our interaction with others and with the environment.

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[2] Sutton-Smith draws his conclusion from M. Spariosu's (1981) "Literature and play: History, principles, method." In M. Spariosu (Ed.), *Literature, mimesis and play*, (pp. 13-52). Tubingen, West Germany: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Sutton-Smith (1988) argues as well that modern art and its artistic contemplation of chaos, which may be a rehearsal for the "unrehearsed and unexpected," is part of our survival instinct, the irrational, without which "we would be caught unprepared in our drive for safety, survival, and comfortable habit" (p. 24). And he adds that as an antithesis to the problems of modern technology, with all its advantages and its disadvantages, and to homogenization, "we have come so strongly to think of the imagination as the font of our freedom, and even of anarchic freedom, that in general we also think of it as a fairly irresponsible force": "Certainly no one would accuse the schools of the Western world of giving much freedom to the imagination except in the sheltered world of preschoolers or in the fanciful forms of children's literature or school 'challenge' programs" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:17).

Another perplexing problem, and moreover a frightening one for educators, is that "the production of novelty is itself a register of the imagination" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:17). This is likely to be the debate of the next decades to come for artists and for educators alike. Sutton-Smith (1988) outlines that on the positive side this has already had "some vogue in psychology and in so-called creativity tests," but on the negative,

> the world of children is overwhelmed with an endless stream of trivial novelties through advertising, television, and so on, and furthermore that this incessant distraction actually inhibits the real development of creativity by constantly distracting the children from one stimulus to the next, preventing the concentration and familiarity that creativity requires. (p. 17)

And as far as Sutton-Smith (1988) is concerned, the story is not over:

> The permutations of computers stand on the fringe of everyday life as a novel and exciting invitation to escalating imaginative grasp. They offer a new kind of meta-intelligence and are likely to be as profound in their effect as the invention of printing 500 years ago. What threatens us all is the speed with which children enter these newly imaginative worlds and the slowness with which we ourselves accept them. For the first time in history, our children, who have often escaped us in impulse and kinesis, threaten to escape us in intelligence. (p. 18)

This has certainly affected children's imaginations in the way that they can now access computers to play pranks upon other computers, even interfering with national security and reeking havoc on the indeterminate red-computer-tape of bureaucracy and other social institutions. How else but by educating the theatre imagination can we continue to provide constructive outlets for it?

First, in order to understand the origins of the theatre and to place it back into is natural environment, "we need some idea of that condition, which existed in tribal and pre-city life, in which the imagination was a state of collective possession by irrational forces or by the Gods" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:5). It is important to note that in the modern world we can document "our heritage in libraries and on video and computer tapes and allow a differentiated and even irrelevant individual excess of fantasy, which was itself unimaginable in prior times" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:5). The imaginative world revealed in ritual reenactment (theatre) or in storytelling by oral cultures "was more often harnessed to the mnemonic or historical requirements of group preservation" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:5), and this cultural context would allow for much less freedom than we allow today.

Sutton-Smith (1988) points out this is not to suggest that the tribal imagination was not fantastic or creative (although it seems unfortunate that the word he chooses to describe the following is *bizarre*), for example,

> the American Indian Winnebago trickster tales, in which the actions of the major figure include "his right arm fighting with his left arm; telling his anus to watch over roasting ducks as he sleeps; awakening with an erection holding up his blanket and mistaking it for the chief's banner; scattering villagers by breaking wind; and wading through his own excrement." (p. 5)

There is a general misunderstanding and suspicion in Western cultures about oral cultures and earliest human beings' use of the imagination which has made itself felt all the way to the present. Through selective presentation of materials, textbooks have distorted the reality of what occurs when we play, dream, tell stories, and make art. It is through imitation and recombination in ritual reenactment that human beings created an interpretative, illusory, but predictable and meaningful world for themselves. Thus, the earliest inhabitants played with the natural world of their environment and personified the objects of ordinary life and invested them with certain magical qualities. The most important element of play was and is the human being's intense belief that he or she can find meaning in the external environment by imitating it and by directing the theatre imagination to learn more about it.

If this imitation was as all-engrossing as accounts of it make out, then it would be difficult for the ancient not to lose him or herself in the ritual and experience self-transcendence. And yet in the texts of the past, "the savage" is relegated to the place of "the child":

> "The savage," wrote Marett (R.R. Marett, in his chapter on "Primitive Credulity" in *The Threshold of Religion*), "is a good actor who can be quite absorbed in his role, like a child at play; and also like a child, a good spectator who can be frightened to death by the roaring of something he knows perfectly well to be no "real" lion. (as quoted in Campbell, 1969:23)

Human beings imitate and imagine the unseen and the unseeable when they fashion a world within a world like the theatre which they are masters of in order to affect the "real" world. When the theatre participants forgets about self and his or her own limitations in the god-created "real" world, raptly intent on play, he or she becomes like a god immune to the outer forces. He or she is made aware of his or her own creative forces: The source of the imaginative, transformative, transcendent, and revitalizing forces that flow from the center of his or her being, the source of creativity, the imagination:

> According to Mikhail Bakhtin's (1984) account of our own Middle Ages, carnival and baccanalian behavior, which we would regard as degrading, was viewed as a form of revitalization, a participation in the life and death processes of nature. In their grotesque realism of body functions, their eroticism, and their scatology, people of medieval times were reuniting nature and culture, the irrational and the rational. (Sutton-Smith, 1988:5)

We have by and large in most schools signified that the spiritual and sexual realms are problematic and thus, in consequence, we are teaching our students to ignore, to fear, and/or to distrust this part of their "theatre imagination." Earlier societies tell a different story: "There is not the same sense of control over nature, either impersonal nature or our own personal nature" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:5-6). For as Sutton-Smith (1988) points out,

> To us the trickster of the Winnebago, the fox of the Taba of Argentina, the frog and tortoise tales of the Ibo of Nigeria, the spider of the African Hausa, or Maui of the Polynesians might well support a psychological picture of a poorly socialized, almost psychopathic kind of personality. Their common characteristics of impulsiveness, disregard for feelings, lack of caring relationship, lack of remorse, inability to learn from mistakes, constant use of pretense and trickery, and innocent charm are hardly endearing to moderns. (p. 6)

Looking at the world in "such a psychological way is a modern habit of thought," and stories and characters, such as the Trickster, are "a collective metaphysic on the irrationality of the world" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:6), at least from a Western or non-Native point of view. Our modern imagination, which is seen to be a feature of individual minds, "supposes itself to be more rational and orderly," even when the modern world "dallies insanely and randomly with its own survival" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:6).

What is frightening about such a modern psychological view of oral cultures' Trickster figures as expressed by Sutton-Smith is that it would only be too easy to substitute the Trickster's characteristics for the way the members of oral cultures are misunderstood and placed in a "prison of cliche" today. One of the first things that the colonizers did when they met up with early inhabitants was to stop them from practicing their dances, ritual reenactments (theatre), and their other "heathen" beliefs. For it was obviously believed that if these indigenous peoples maintained their "theatre imagination" and their cultural practices they would continue to imitate and to continue to imagine such "fictional" characters as the Trickster. The Trickster was essentially and violently usurped by the missionaries' figure of Christ. In the modern world, it is assumed that imitation without its one essential feature, that is, the ability to distinguish between "only pretending" and "this is for real" in today's world, may be seen to lead to psychoses. We have already seen how minority children's narratives are often regarded as lies. However, the dividing line between not believing and in suspending one's disbelief is dependent upon cultural beliefs, values, narrative mode of thinking, and/or expression of this "theatre imagination." It is an immensely destructive and/or repressive act to disallow the culturally relative narrative mode of thinking and not to provide a constructive outlet for the culturally relative "theatre imagination," with all that that entails for cultural revitalization.

Perhaps it might be argued that the character of Christ cannot be compared to the Trickster; however, once again, this is debatable. The figure of Christ is alive and well, and it might be said that in our various cultures today there are many peoples who would have trouble distinguishing between "only pretending" and "this is for real" in such ritual reenactments as the sacramental rite known as communion. In David Diamond's (1987) play, *NO'XYA'*, a contemporary Canadian example of people's theatre, there is a debate between the two female leads, immigrant and Native, between the "mythical" or "fictional" or even "bogus" nature of the the Native's beliefs about the non-Native and vice versa. This play will be explored further in a later chapter.

Introducing communion as "re-enactment" without reference to the sacramental nature of this ritual is on par with looking at the theatre and the theatre imagination (a culturally-relative concept) without seeing its link with sacramental ritual elements.

The Trickster is alive and well in contemporary Canadian Native theatre (see Kelly, 1987, and Moses, 1987), having been resurrected by a Cree playwright, originally from northern Manitoba, and Artistic Director of Native Earth (a small Toronto-based theatre company, dedicated to the development of Native performing artists), Tomson Highway. Also, The Committee to Re-establish the Trickster, formed in the summer of 1986, is striving to re-establish the Trickster, promote literature by Native Canadian writers, and encourage literacy on all levels and in all languages used by Native people, especially in the living Cree, Ojibwa, and Inuit languages (Kelly, 1987:40; Moses, 1987:86-87). As Daniel David Moses, a poet from Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario, with strong Iroquoian roots writes, "'The tales of the Trickster are at once admonitions, instruction, and entertainment. The old people say he disappeared when the white man came. We believe he is still here—having assumed other names'" (as quoted in Kelly, 1987:40).

Trickster is a figure from the oral literature of Native peoples, "and among his names are Nanabush (Ojibway), Weesageechak (Cree), Coyote and Raven" (Kelly, 1987:40). Tomson Highway is also a member of this committee, to re-establish the Trickster, and he believes that the world-view these Native and northern languages engender and express "seems…also untranslatable," but he hopes that his work in English can teach Canadians "'something new and something terribly relevant and beautiful about that particular landscape that they too have become inhabitants of'" (as quoted in Moses, 1987:87). One of his best known plays, *The Rez Sisters*, chosen as one of the Runners Up for the Best New Canadian Play for 1986, is about seven women "sisters, half-sisters,

sisters-in-law, adopted sisters," who leave their reserve on Manitoulin Island to attend the World's Biggest Bingo in Toronto (Moses, 1987:84). The kinds of characters are reminiscent of the so-called "bizarre" character pointed out by Sutton-Smith (1988), but Moses explains that only when the audience stops to consider the context do "the concerns of the individual characters, which range from a laughable obsession with the beauty of toilet fixtures through country and western music to children and morbidly romantic love" reach distinctly tragic dimensions:

> The majority of Native people, forced to inhabit ignored, economically disadvantaged areas called reserves, are not encouraged to regard their lives as important. The accomplishment of *The Rez Sisters* is that it focuses on a variety of such undervalued lives and brings them up to size. (1987:85)

There is a general misunderstanding and suspicion about oral cultures and earliest human beings use of the "theatre imagination" because some (cultural) learning is seen as useful and some as useless: a"dichotomy imposed on us both by puritanism and industrialization" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:13). The tyranny of which has become translated into the dichotomy between those who are seen to be "literate" and those who are "illiterate" people. This, I believe, is a fairly new phenomena which has become another status symbol, or achievement-marker, for the 1990s and beyond, that is, which groups are culturally pre-disposed to literacy. For instance, as Robin McGrath (1984) signifies in *Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition*: "When one considers the number of illiterate fishermen there are in the outports of Newfoundland, men who cannot even write their names, the ease with which the Inuit have made reading and writing a part of their lives is quite astonishing" (p. 116). And yet the significance given to literacy may lead one to overlook the knowledge and resources that perhaps even an illiterate fisherman from the outports of Newfoundland may have for the rest of us.

An interesting adjunct is the current debate over the direction and character of Brazil's Carnival, which seems to make very clear just such a dichotomy imposed by puritanism and industrialization. Paul Knox (1990) describes it as an "orgy of escape and fantasy, a feast of dreams and carnal delights that casts a spell over Brazil and captures the world's imagination" (p. A5). What was once seen as a working-class festival celebrated largely in neighborhoods has, according to Jose Eduardo Guinle, president of Rio's Association of Tourist Hotels, "lost its spontaneity, become far too organized" (as quoted in Knox, 1990:A5). Certainly it has been appropriated by bookmakers "who control much of the carnival's organization and finances" and influenced by the outside world, "the festival's tourist-oriented makeup" (Knox, 1990:A5). Knox says that the bookmakers, called *bicheiros*, have taken over leadership of about two dozen social clubs called samba schools where the artisans perfect their music and dance style: "selling out the carnival's spirit in return for tourist and television income" (Knox, 1990 A5).

> A prominent *bicheiro*, Ailton Guimaraes, is the current president of the League of Samba Schools in Rio. An army lieutenant when Brazil was under military rule, he has been accused of participating in torture sessions and linked to police-sanctioned death squads in Espiritu Santo state, north of Rio.
>
> It was he who issued this year's ban on total nudity after Beija-Flor, one of the top samba schools, announced that the parade's theme would be Everyone Was Born Naked. (Knox, 1990:A5)

As George Bernard Shaw said, "You use a glass mirror to see your face, /You use a work of art to see your soul" (as quoted in Schafer, 1982:32). Is it any wonder then that

> It's Carnival time for Brazil's military generals this weekend [February 23, 24, and 25, 1990], but they will be played by dwarfs.
>
> Twenty three "little people" dressed in glittering uniforms with large exaggerated shoulders plan to stand guard outside a large prison cage of bright green and yellow bars, the colors of the Brazilian flag. Beyond them, a larger-than-life masked torturer will flex his muscles encircled by dozens of pairs of scissors, the instrument of newspaper censorship. (Byrne, 1990:A8)

This irreverence is all part of the poor and the working classes' expression of their way of knowing, and the Carnival is their medium to voice cultural knowledge and experience, something which is not dependent upon literacy: "Criticism will be made this year of the country's lack of land reform, corruption, environmental destruction and the exploitation of Brazil's riches" (Byrne, 1990:A8). Although the Carnival is in danger of being appropriated, colonized, and sanitized, "the poor will continue...to hint at their discontent as they samba through the weekend" (Byrne, 1990:A8).

This "theatre imagination," which has in the past been the expression of a way of knowing of earlier societies, oral cultures, the poor, and working classes, is essential not only to the quality of life, the environment, the economy, and the community, but also to the intellectual development and education of children. But it has been placed outside of schools "as a useless subculture" much the same way that childhood, womanhood, and Native groups everywhere have been "set to one side from economic life...trivialized and colonized...subordinated and idealized" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:13).

In this way, Tomson Highway and many other Native artists in Canada have re-appropriated and revitalized this "theatre imagination," this culturally contexted narrative mode of thinking. Highway, in his play, *The Rez Sisters*, has gone so far as to pursue audience interaction in hopes that the members of "high culture" (wealthy patrons of the theatre) and members of "legitimate culture," those persons whose voices are taken seriously, will by interacting with the actors, reencounter childhood, womanhood, and his own Native group, the Ojibwa. The audience is invited to play a game of Bingo along with the play's characters: "We literally play along, experiencing for ourselves the Rez Sisters' passion" (Moses, 1987:85).

The eighth character is an Ojibwa Trickster, "a mix of the hero and the fool," whose guises included that of a seagull, a nighthawk, and finally as the Bingo game's Master of Ceremonies: "he hovers just beyond the action, a harbinger of death" (Moses, 1987:84-85). Highway also sees the similarities between the early Greeks and the indigenous Canadians traditional tales, which to his mind are innately theatrical; for instance,

> of fantastic beings like the cannibal spirit Weetigo, or Wendigo, [or Wihtiko] and the woman who makes love to a thousand snakes as North American equivalents of Greek mythology. He draws that parallel in order to point out that just as the Greek myths served as a foundation for the play of the ancient Greeks, so he believes that Native Canadian myths can permit the development of Canadian works of equal stature. (Moses, 1987:87)

Highway agrees with other Native writers and artists in that he is "trying to speak across the gap between a culture where the earth is still the great Mother to a culture where God is not only incarnate but dead" (Moses, 1987:87). However, it is doubtful whether these indigenous Canadian traditional tales will be taught to non-Natives by any other means than through theatre, if they are so lucky to be invited to it, for there is likely to be much suspicion about what can be learned from such "fantastic beings" as there once was towards what could be garnered from the beings in Greek mythology.

Theatre is being used to rediscover culture and culture contact, religious beliefs and their artistic traditions and their intersections, and to create texts and new textual images of which those whose voices have been silenced or unheard from in the past have semiotic control as part of the step towards economic and political control and social transformation. In the Canadian context, Native and northern indigenous peoples are creating a landscape from which we can learn about the land and the early aesthetic artistic development of those people who have for far too long been subordinated:

> Social conflicts find their way into the history of the imagination; and those who would deal with imagination in the classroom...must allow them into its informative and assuaging management, if they are to use its full power. The margin of life can be festooned with the mimicries of respectable knowledge or they can be made bright with its inversion. (Sutton-Smith, 1988:27)

We have come very far in the changes that have been experienced in our social institutions. It is somewhat paradoxical that originally it was through two such social institutions, that is, art and religion, once upon a time an integrated whole, that human beings were saved, momentarily in their ecstasy, from the terrors and the frenzy of the "real" world and that the transcendental and ecstatic religious nature of theatre's origins were essentially to provide sanction and protection for a particular group (culture), wherein of course a certain social order was and is implied.

The world is changing very, very, rapidly. But cultures are still not equal, and perhaps the reason why will take us all the way back to our beginnings. This is best said by historian Arnold Toynbee, "In the end, all serious disputes are religious in origin" (as quoted in Percy, 1990:5). It would seem that all our social institutions are going to be transformed and perhaps by the very people, children, oral cultures, women, artists, and so forth who in the past have not had a hand in their original set-up. In fact, new institutions are going to pop up that we can have an imaginative hand in. If Canada is a multicultural country then cultural learning must take place in the schools. In art, in play, in theatre, in religion, in schools, human beings may become what they imagine to be necessary for their (group) survival. In this way was theatre and ritual reenactment originally used to educate and maintain and to mediate the possibilities and potential for social transformation. In this way is theatre, especially people's theatre, changing the face of classrooms, culture, and communities today.

Culture and Learning

Culture exists as a dynamic in the playful and purposeful interaction between any human and any *other* which results in learning. According to Courtney (1982), culture represents the living theatre of life" and is "highly significant in representing existence" (p. 139). Through play, a human being fantasizes and creates his or her own world in order to facilitate his or her awakening perception of the "real" world. This "real" world is not the same for every human being on this planet. We come into this world and enter into a "network of social relations," and from the earliest moments of play, a child learns through imitation, to assume a "confrontational" relationship to any other, where the *other* must be controlled, dissected, analyzed, quantified, and/or even destroyed. In opposition to this, for example, is another way of relating to or of knowing the *other* which is "non-confrontational," as in the Canadian Native view of the world (Kelly, 1988:A7). Neither view can be regarded as more important than the other, but both are highly significant indicators of the existence of the importance of learning about culture in play: "Piaget has for years argued that children progressively put together theories, then reorganize them at a higher and more sophisticated level: cultural knowledge unfolds in stages" (Keesing, 1981:86).

So from very early on when a child is playing, s/he is learning, and learning about culture. According to Keesing (1981), "In the real world the knowledge we describe as cultural is always distributed among individuals in communities" (p. 72). Thus, the way that culture aids in intellectual growth "is through dialogue between the more experienced and the less experienced, providing a means for the internalization of dialogue in thought" (Bruner, as quoted in Wynnyk, 1985:12). Theatre functions in the same way, providing those with less experience and those with more experience an opportunity to communicate not only through shared reflection and interpretation (dialogue) but also through shared action (role-playing and so forth). The cultural knowledge that is transmitted during play and theatre's role-play can be subdivided into "two levels of understanding, the explicit and the tacit" (Wynnyk, 1985:16).

Tacit Cultural Knowledge: According to Spradley and McCurdy (1975), tacit cultural knowledge is "the shared knowledge that cannot be articulated" (p. 40): for example, "a teacher's smile for compliance...or a teacher's frown for a departure from it, transmits tacit culture to the child" (Wynnyk, 1985:22). Eventually, the child conforms and learns the tacit messages which operate at a subconscious level, affecting the underlying meaning of acquired knowledge (Wynnyk, 1985:22). Another transmission of tacit culture is by what Althusser has called "perceived-accepted-suffered-cultural-objects" which act functionally upon human beings in such a way that escapes them (as quoted in Hebdige, 1979:12). According to Hebdige (1979), what Althusser means is that those institutions that "carry within themselves implicit ideological assumptions which are literally structured into the architecture itself" show how the "frames of our thinking have been translated into actual bricks and mortar" (p. 12). For instance, Hebdige asserts that knowledge has been categorized into arts and sciences and that this has been reproduced in the faculty system "which houses different disciplines in different buildings" (1979:13). Also, he says that most universities and colleges maintain divisions between subjects by devoting a separate floor to a subject. This physical lay-out seems to cause some difficulty in the holistic integration of subjects: "the hierarchical relationship between teacher and taught is inscribed in the very lay-out of the lecture theatre where the seating arrangements...dictate the flow of information and serve to 'naturalize professorial authority'" (Hebdige, 1979:13).

We may or may not be able to overcome all that constrains us, and we may not always be able to see or to articulate that which is a constraint. Robinson (1988) calls this "ideology," and by this he means those ideas we have which are so taken for granted that we do not even know that we have them since they strike us as so much common sense. In other words, "an ideology is made of what it does not mention; it exists because there are things which must not be spoken of" (Macherey, 1978:132) and, often, cannot be spoken of.

For instance, the hierarchical and linear (one-way) relationship between teacher and taught inscribed in the classroom layout where the seating arrangements dictate the one-way flow of information and serve to naturalize the teacher's authority also serve to naturalize the practice of excluding the students' cultural knowledge in favor the teacher's superior cultural knowledge. This effectively impedes the learning and expression of alternative ways of thinking and acting, especially if the learner is struggling to understand the reason behind the legitimization of the teacher's superior cultural knowledge over his or her own. Formal schooling often asks that you leave your "culture," and thus, your "mediator" of the learning process, at home. This effectively breeds resistance to the dominant ideology—everything from political movements to vandalism (Freire and Shor, 1987:37).

One ideological problem is that education and culture are considered to be two separate entities (UNESCO, 1983). This is simply taken for granted. Even though, in its report, UNESCO is addressing the issue that culture and education need to have their "interrelationship strengthened," this is very much the same way that arts and science have become separated in our minds, and this separation has serious repercussions for arts education. Robinson (1988) points out that most people go through the school system without ever experiencing the arts so when they come out of the system they do not know what the arts are or what they are for.

Tacit cultural knowledge or tacit lessons deal with "the inculcation of culturally defined ways of perceiving the world and acting within it" (Kapferer, as quoted in Wynnyk, 1985:22). These tacit lessons have serious implications for children of marginalized cultures who are picking up messages, at a subconscious level, which say that you cannot handle your own affairs, you are inept at handling your own lives, and in fact, no matter what you do, you are and will be a profound failure at the business of living. In many similar ways, an illiterate person might be seen to be a profound failure at the business of living. It would require a very astute teacher not to demonstrate that he or she is culturally superior to such a student and yet it may be a part of the reason for such a person to reject the whole process, to refuse to buy into such an exclusive philosophy. It is a lesson that is not easily accessed and/or acknowledged by either child or teacher and one does not have to travel too far to find examples of problems. In the Edmonton Inner City Drama Project (1988), an 11-year-old Canadian Native (Cree) girl, who was in Grade 5 after having failed twice, who had written a play about the (temporary) break-up of her parents' marriage over alcoholism, and who had seen it produced by a group of inner city peers (both Native and non-Native) and videotaped for audience viewing, takes for granted that she is a failure at school, not that school has failed her.[3] Some lessons are less subtle, but they still involve tacit culture:

> In the 1950s, Shingwauk residential school near Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., used to line up the little boy pupils, heads shaved, hands joined, to receive shocks from an electric socket as punishment? Shaved heads, the forbidding of Indian languages and culture, were de rigueur for such schools, it seems. (Kelly, 1988:A7)

In the context of China's Cultural Revolution, especially beginning in 1970 when "new dramas and controversies about dramas were prominent in both culture and politics," tacit culture was evident in Mao's contradictory belief which lay behind his stance of carrying through a people's cultural revolution while asserting a new type of central power (Judd, 1983:26). As Judd (1983) argues, Mao's major ideological problem in the movement to popularize model operas "was that it was a popular movement promoted on rigidly hierarchical principles" and there was a "fundamental distrust of popular spontaneity" (p. 27). Though these may seem unimportant, such tacit culture and manipulation of the arts took its toll on China's cultural revolution. The different political purposes of the period "posed difficult problems for activists in the official movements of the last years," and thus, a "view of the concrete social activity of drama in the Cultural Revolution" will be examined further to investigate how the people, the workers, responded artistically to the contradictions placed upon them (Judd, 1983:27).

Explicit Cultural Knowledge: "The symbolic universe" is culture's more visible component, separating human expression from that of animals (Aronoff, 1983:3; see also Berger and Luckmann, 1966), and this symbolic universe is already current in the community when a human being is born "and remains with some additions, subtractions, and partial alterations he [or she] may or may not have had a hand in, there after he [or she] dies" (Keesing, 1981:98). It is in this symbolic universe that human beings express themselves, become aware of themselves, recognize their "incompleteness," question their own achievements, and "seek untiringly for new meaning and creates works through which he [or she] transcends his [or her] limitations" (Aronoff, 1983:6). It is through people's theatre that all human beings can experience the same without having to buy into the notion that only some people have "much" to learn.

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[3] From this author's teaching diaries during the 1987-88 Edmonton Inner City Drama Project, whose focus is to bring the arts to those children who live in the inner city by providing drama classes at an inner city Boys & Girls Club and also as an extra-curricular activity at an inner city elementary school.

Not all the cultural symbols are understood by every member of a culture. However, acquired cultural knowledge provides members of a culture with a predictable set of circumstances which will be in operation each time the group meets and carries on activities (Wynnyk, 1985:19). The more you understand the set of rules or cultural codes, the more socially competent you feel. The more socially competent you feel, the greater potential for expressing your cultural knowledge and experience. It is very much like following a baseball game whereby it helps to know what "a squeeze play, a hanging curve or a tightened infield are, and what the game in which these 'things' are elements is all about" (Geertz, 1980:104). Especially if one's culture is operating in a subordinate position within the constraints of a dominant culture, ignorance and/or naiveté about yourself, your culture, and its relation to others may be fatal. According to Canadian artist Carl Beam (Ojibwa), "If knowledge is power, then most people today are powerless in the face of forces that shape—and threaten—their lives" (as quoted in Schulz, 1988:4). The important thing is that we can play the game without knowing all the details or what all the elements are about; this is where the human ability to imitate is functional. But on the other hand this is paradoxically also where the human ability to imitate is dysfunctional. We do not always know why we act the way we do or in what ways we are contributing to the very social organization that constrains us. People's theatre allows us to use our "theatre imagination" as a tool for analysis. It prompts us to ask ourselves: Are we blindly maintaining the very social institutions which we would like to change?

Symbolic meaning can be created with language as well as constructed and interpreted with artistic symbols (Wynnyk, 1985:18). The arts present different modes of symbolism, different modes of conception. According to Robinson (1988), "We define the arts as ways of knowing [that] are rooted in the general human capacity for symbolization: the process of conceiving and representing our experience in symbolic form." Language, science, music, dance, and drama are all ways we make sense of our experience and conceptualize it symbolically. Robinson (1988) makes the important point that we do not just communicate what we think symbolically, *we think what we think in these forms*. Thus, the arts are essential ways of having ideas, not just of expressing them (Robinson, 1988). People's theatre is a very good introduction to the arts for all people because it integrates and makes use of seemingly divergent ways of knowing.

Culture and Ethnocentrism

Colin Mackerras (1973), an historian and cultural theorist on the Chinese, points out on the inside cover of his book, *Amateur Theatre in China 1949-1966*, that "the phrase 'amateur theatre' conveys, in the West, a picture of unpaid actors performing for their own and their friends' amusement." But this Western view of amateur theatre brings up an important point about operating from within the "culture cage," with all that implies about enclosure and entrapment. A homogeneous or "we are all the same" view of culture as a way of looking at the West's cultural knowledge is as seriously limiting as it would be in the context of viewing Natives and non-Natives or of viewing "amateur theatre" or people's theatre in China and Bangladesh. There are two problems that can occur in observing another culture: 1) looking from an alien perspective (with cultural baggage of one's own), and 2) looking at a culture as if it were made up of a homogeneity of personalities.

It would be more up-to-date to say that in the West, just as

> all over the Third world peasants, workers, women, indigenous (tribal) groups, and other oppressed groups are rediscovering the potential of people's theatre....Landless laborers and poor peasants in Bangladesh, Kenya, Nicaragua, and the Philippines, women's groups in Botswana, Jamaica, and India, native communities in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Guatemala, tribal and Harijan movements in India, sugar workers, domestic workers, prisoners, etc. in Jamaica, urban slum-dwellers in Latin America, and freedom-fighters in southern Africa—all are turning to "theatre by the people for the people and of the people." (Kidd and Rashid, 1983:30-2)

Just as Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of "heteroglossia" implies that culture and society as well as individuals are comprized of multiple voices (Quantz and O'Connor, 1988:95-6), this excerpt from Kidd and Rashid (1984) illustrates that a multi-voiced view of culture must be taken into consideration to overcome the limitations of viewing culture from inside a cage. It is just as limiting to ignore cultural difference as an outsider or other as it is to make too much out of cultural difference.

Harris (1987) brings up one other significant aspect about viewing culture:

> All cultural anthropologists are tolerant of and curious about cultural differences. Some, however, have gone further and adopted the viewpoint known as *cultural relativism*, according to which each cultural pattern is as intrinsically worthy of respect as all the rest. Although cultural relativism is a scientifically acceptable way of relating to cultural differences, it is not the only...admissible attitude. (p. 9).

From the point of view of the arts, people's theatre is also an acceptable way of analyzing and recognizing cultural differences and similarities, in essence, it takes its' cue from the active engagement of the theatre imagination. Like anthropologists, people's theatre practitioners "make ethical judgments about the value of different cultural patterns" (Harris, 1987:9), but unlike the observer-observed delineations, people's theatre asks of its participants that they themselves carry out an objective study of the phenomena, we call *culture*, rather than be studied and be changed from the outside-in. At the same time, people's theatre revitalizes and organizes the worship of communal life which would seem contradictory if one is setting out to study cultural patterns because one wants to change them. The observer may have a very limited or a very astute understanding of the culture he or she is studying with such an intent. But people's theatre by its very definition, that is, theatre by the people, for the people, and of the people, may in turn reveal the biases, the cultural patterns, those phenomena that fall under the rubric of culture that influence the result of the research process; the way that the teacher's way of knowing needs to be changed before a cross-cultural communication of truths can take place.

Culture as an External System: Societies

However, culture is not the *only* determining factor for behavior. The structural-power relationships of society determine how an individual's intent or intended course is to be translated into action. The term *society* can be defined as the medium through which behavior is organized, for example, family, schools, theatres, age-groups, status groups, church, state, work, interest associations, interpersonal networks, media, and so forth. Society is very real in the minds of the individual for it involves the observable patterns of behavior between the members of the many, varied, and changing cultures.

As Geertz (1957) has pointed out, culture is the "fabric of meaning" in which human beings interpret their experience, and "social structure is the form that action takes" (pp. 33-4). A multi-voiced view of culture "recognizes the complex contradictions within societies [and cultures] and...makes the idea of transformative education possible" (Quantz and O'Connor, 1988:95). Thus, the interactive human dialogue which constitutes people's theatre represents, interprets, and transforms the people's experience of that culture by first reproducing and analyzing contradictions and then transforming the recognizable form (of all the possibilities) that action takes.

Culture and Schooling

> School is renowned for excluding the cultural lives of most of its participants (Yates, 1987:73)
>
> One of the things I had to learn after reading all this male fiction was, what do I as a woman feel like....All the literary forms were men's, all the philosophies were men's philosophies....I had to translate these forms into the female. (Helen Weinzweig, 1990 nominee for the Governor General's award in English-language fiction, as quoted in Kirchhoff, 1990b:A14)

According to Yates (1987), "School is the central state agency of cultural transmission, but we have no clear idea of how culture should relate to schooling" (p. 74). He argues that the cultural lives of groups, which are complex meaning-making systems, may have a limited potential for inclusion in schooling. This assumes too that there is a poverty of cultural information available to teachers. There may be a simple solution to the problem, if there is *ever* a simple solution, which involves engaging in dialogue with children, listening to them, and becoming more aware (along with them) of their cultural knowledge. According to Wynnyk (1985), "Dialogue is not a mere exchange of words, but depends upon reciprocal contributions that can be synthesized into a joint interpretation (not necessarily a joint agreement) that can exceed the view of either contributor" (p. 12). This fits in with what Bruner (1973) has said about culture aiding in intellectual growth through dialogue between the more experienced and the less experienced members of a culture and providing for the internalization of such dialogue in thought (p. 476). In this case, the children may be more experienced (and/or culturally knowledgeable) than the teacher. Engaging children in dialogue helps them to move from decision-making focussed on themselves to decisions incorporating both self and others (see Wynnyk, 1985:12). This type of dialogue occurs in people's theatre, and the dialogue that is engendered between the participants also helps to broaden the individual's perspective and to integrate them into the group. For instance, unless I can teach you how I learn (perhaps how I transform-represent, if I am an artist or a very creative individual), there will be a limited communication, or change, or reciprocity, possible on either of our parts. This it would seem is the true nature of the people's theatre contract. This may be a very uncomfortable proposition for many teachers because with choice comes responsibility and teacher or student may not want to enter into such a contract. Yet, out of my own experience, I know that I learn well from someone who is not fixed, or a knowledge-power-broker, per se, without sensing some movement possible, that is, that the person I am allowing to teach me is also actively engaged in the same "learning" process.

However, Robinson (1988) points out an ideological problem of schools. He claims schools are based on "the front-loading model of education," that is, "childhood is the process, adults are the product." This ideological difficulty is being made explicit by art educators and performers for children. Raffi (1988), accepting an award at the International Symposium on the Arts for Young Audiences in Vancouver, spoke about his work as a musician and performer for children:

> [it is] child-centered and it has a vision of children as whole people. It has an image of childhood as a time of innocence. A time of unhurried dreaming. And the imagining for those dreamers of charting a unique path in the world. We have a deep conviction that childhood yields lifelong impressions that take years to understand let alone undo.

Raffi says one of the ways of respecting children is to understand the importance of play in their lives, and Wynnyk (1985) would add that by talking and listening to them is a way to include their experience (and cultural knowledge) in the classroom. Alison Jolly (1985) in her classic work on primates would extend this further in that humans are the only primates which seem to play as adults. Yet, as Alice Baumgart points out, "Experience in our society is considered second-class compared to knowledge" (as quoted in Code, 1988:64). In effect, two complex epistemological/political patterns converge to maintain a lesser mode of cognitive being for certain groups (including Native groups, women, and children): 1) the persistence of stereotypes attached to certain groups (cultures) and categories which have been used in the past to label children and "differentiate 'smart' children from 'stupid,' 'academic areas from 'non-academic,' 'play' activity from 'learning' or 'work' activity, and even 'students' from 'teachers,' are all common-sense constructions which grow out of the nature of existing institutions"; and 2) the "curious distinction between knowledge and experience" (Young, as quoted in Apple, 1979:134; Code, 1988:64-65). As Joshee says, we already know that by "assigning traditional and rigid roles or attributes to a group, instructional materials stereotype and limit the abilities and potential of that group" (1990:4).

The arts function like schools in that they act as "powerful agents in the economic and cultural reproduction of class relations in a stratified society" (Apple, 1979:8). For the dominant culture, "they help create people (with the appropriate meanings and values) who see no other serious possibility to the economic and cultural assemblage now extant" (Apple, 1979:6). What is actually taught in schools and in the arts has been "socially *legitimate* knowledge" (Apple, 1979:6), when what the arts are is "play with form producing some aesthetically successful transformation-representation" (Alland, 1977:39).

However, much of the difficulty here emanates from shortcomings in arts education (Schafer, 1982:6) and, more importantly, in the structural relations of institutions, for example, the separation of the arts and the sciences and of the significance of the second over the first. The implications of "regarding [scientific] objectivity as an overarching epistemological ideal" are such that this distinction acts to discredit any claims to knowledge that do not fall within the "designation of what it is permissible to count as knowledge, which creates an awkward double bind for certain potential knowers...with regard both to the raw materials of which knowledge is to be constructed and to the knowing process itself" (Code, 1988:65).

Some groups or cultures, perceived through stereotypes, are regarded as capable only of attaining access to experience, without this experience leading to knowledge. Code points out, "with regard to methodological assumptions, the ideal of objectivity upheld as that which must be respected if one is to qualify as a knower is one whose stringency disqualifies a good deal of what our pre-philosophical institutions [for example, the theatre] tell us must surely count as knowledge" (Code, 1988:65-66). A good example of this is also what the "Native/non-Native game" is all about (for instance, ongoing debates in the Canadian court systems where Native elders and chiefs' knowledge is valid): Natives *know*, but they cannot let the world know that they know. Code says,

> It is a primary human concern to be good at knowing what the world is like: to know how best to respond to and interact with the physical environment, and with other animate, intelligent, and sensitive creatures....Knowledge is an interpersonal product that requires communal standards of affirmation, correction, and denial for its existence. Concentration upon individual, putatively autonomous knowledge claims, derived from "direct" contact with the world, loses sight of the role of the credibility-discerning and -establishing activities. Often, epistemologists seem to forget just how small a portion of one's knowledge is gained by straightforwardly observational, empirical means.
>
> But such properly authoritative knowers are not always straightforwardly discernible as such, for "high-ranking" status within epistemic communities is achieved as much on the basis of ideologically coloured, third-person, status-conferring judgements as in consequences of good cognitive endeavour. For similar reasons, "low(er)-ranking" status sometimes cannot, unequivocally, be taken as a sign of ignorance or lesser reliability....Yet, it is a complex...task to untangle the factors that go into the creation of authorities and experts, upon whose alleged expertise most people are so fundamentally dependent. (1988:66-67)

Two complex "epistemological/political patterns," according to Code, converge to maintain a "lesser mode of cognitive being, for women, and to thwart their efforts to gain recognition as authoritative members of an epistemic community" (1988:64-65). What is applicable here to Natives and other subordinated groups is clearly defined by Code (1988) to apply to women, namely, who can be defined as a "knower" or a "knowledge power broker," and the persistence of stereotypes. These labels form a part of the tacit culture in that they are usually not analyzed in such a way as to demystify them. In fact, it is due to the persistence of such stereotypes "according to which women are variously labelled as scatter-brained, illogical, highly emotional, incapable of abstract or purely intellectual thought, their judgements constantly vitiated by an unpredictable subjectivity" that even as

> contradictory evidence accumulates, the view remains astonishingly widespread that this is how women *are*. By "applying" stereotypes, people still claim to know what women are like, what they can do, and how they should be treated. Such stereotype-governed "knowledge" often derives support from well-accredited experimental findings about female nature. Hence it is only by unmasking stereotypes for the crude epistemological tools that they are that one can being to counter them and weaken their potential for damage. (p. 65)

What has happened to arts education in the school is that arts training itself has become a "fringe" or extracurricular activity apart from the mainstream and thus has become unable to transform its practitioners (emotions and imagination) in a constructive and positive and ultimately, communicable manner (which is certainly its potential):

> Stated frankly, many people have had their artistic sensibilities killed in the school system by insensitive teachers who tell them they are not artistic because they can't draw, act or hold a tune. For the rest of their lives, these people are so inhibited about the arts that they refuse to participate in the arts or take an active interest in them. Unfortunately, although these people have their artistic sensibilities destroyed in school, they still have artistic likes and dislikes and continue to make aesthetic judgements throughout their lives. The problem is that these tastes and judgments remain bottled up inside them and hidden from view. What is required here are artists, arts administrators, animators, and arts educators who can break down these inhibitions and find new outlets [constructive, positive] for these tastes and judgements throughout their lives. (Schafer, 1982:6)

These people whose "tastes and judgements remain bottled up inside...and hidden from view" become the next generation of parents, teachers, friends, reporters, authorities, experts, that "to a much greater extent than examples commonly taken to illustrate epistemological points might lead one to believe" affect the environment, the nature of the world we live in, and our own human nature (Schafer, 1982:6; Code, 1988:66). Not only has their own revitalizing imagination been stalled and silenced with all the ensuing potential for lack of self-confidence, self-awareness, social competence, communication skills, empathy for others, innovation, and change, but there is also the potential for destruction of dependent others. Using people's theatre techniques in the classroom may make (and has already made) cultural education possible and, in the long run, may make other transformations in cultures and societies possible as well.

Culture and Economy

The relationship between cultural values and the economic context is, as Webster (1984) says, "a complex and dynamic process," which neither modernization theory or underdevelopment theory adequately addresses (pp. 62, 63, 91-3). Also, due to the "unusual and human significance of the arts, it is essential to ensure a tenable relationship between cultural values and the economic context, that the arts are not imprisoned behind institutional walls," in other words, controlled by the elites, "but are ubiquitous to society at large" (Schafer, 1982:13).

The questions for the "culturalist" is not only how are meanings made, but also: Whose meanings are they? Whose knowledge is this? Who selected it? Why is it organized and taught in this way? To this particular group? and "What are the ties between these meanings and the economic and cultural reproduction (and contradictory non-reproduction) of sexual, racial and class relations in our society?" (Apple, 1982:11; 1979:7). Apple (1982) says, "As Gramsci might put it, cultural and political struggle become an essential part of a 'war of position,' a war on many fronts. And one of these fronts involves the transformation and rearticulation of dominant cultural and educative practices" (p. 17). In schools we are constantly asked to get to the next step or point or understanding; very little attention is paid to how the learner is supposed to get there from a culturally contextualized narrative mode. However, Apple also says that asking questions, though it might be considered a beginning, is not enough: "One is guided, as well, by attempting to link these investigations to competing conceptions of social and economic power and ideologies" (Apple, 1979:7). This is to get at "a more concrete appraisal of the linkages between economic and political power and the knowledge *made available* (and *not* made available)" (Apple, 1979:7). The knowledge that gets into schools and into the arts "is already a choice from a much larger universe of possible social knowledge and principles" (Apple, 1979:7).

According to Weber (1968),

> Status groups vie with one another to monopolize scarce cultural resources, and use these resources as bases of group solidarity to identify members and to exclude outsiders. In addition to maintaining solidarity, adherence to a shared status culture, defined as merit or cultivation, is used as a basis for the allocation of scarce social goods.... By using cultural criteria in this way, dominant status groups both ensure the overselection of their offspring and the appropriate socialization of new members. Following Weber, Bourdieu has restated and extended the theory of class fractions and class domination, asserting that in modern societies classes adopt the characteristics of status groups and class struggle becomes transported, in part, to the cultural and educational fields....Valued cultural goods, styles, and competencies, which Bourdieu refers to as "cultural capital," include, as a major component, familiarity with the high arts. (as quoted in DiMaggio and Useem, 1982:183-184)

The uneven distribution of "cultural capital" may be due to the fact that

> members of different classes and class fractions pass down distinctive cultural preferences to their young. These family differences are reinforced by peer groups. Individuals from homes where high culture is valued develop early in life a familiarity with artistic forms; they learn the codes implicit in artistic products...internalize transposable dispositions to value high-arts works...and

> remain more open to high-cultural experience than their less prosperous peers. (as quoted in DiMaggio and Useem, 1982:185)

Another way to look at this is that it is not quite as important for people from homes where high culture is valued to justify their position(s): they simply have it, others do not. And those who do not come from homes where high culture is valued are constantly being asked to explain why they do not have it, or cannot get it (the knowledge and experience they are supposed to have or to value).

This uneven distribution of cultural capital may also be due in part to the fact that immediately following World War II

> the arts in most countries were private in nature, insignificant in size and limited in influence. In a sense, they were located on the periphery of society....Funding was nominal in amount and limited largely to funds which flowed from the private sector. There were virtually no government agencies or service associations working to advance the artistic cause. Facilities were few in number and traditional in design, as were educational courses....It would not be far from the truth to say that the arts were locked out of the lives of the vast majority of citizens. (Schafer, 1982:1)

However, there has been a marked change which is seriously "eroding the traditional form of class domination of arts organizations" (DiMaggio and Useem, 1982:195) and is shifting the control from members of the upper class "to *corporate* control, at the organizational level," that is, consisting of "individuals appointed by virtue of their positions in formal organizations rather than their membership in local upper-class status groups" (pp. 189, 195). There is a parallel here with what is happening in the Canadian business or corporate structure with the present-day perspective of levelling the previous hierarchical share of knowledge, experience, and resources which will be further discussed in Chapter III (Changes in Cultural and Structural/Power Relationships in a Complex and Fast-changing World). As DiMaggio and Useem (1982) point out, "The *elite* mode of class domination set firm *social* limits on the diffusion of high art to the public at large, the *corporate* mode of class domination may instead set *ideological* limits on the content of the art that is presented. Changes in the mode of domination of high culture need not…directly affect the cultural patterns of the working class or the poor" (p. 196). For as DiMaggio and Useem (1982) say, "The attractiveness of high culture to the middle classes is partly contingent upon the continued exclusion of the poor and the working classes; large-scale marketing to the latter is neither appealing nor necessary to either arts managers or boards" and "would be difficult in light of the tenaciousness of existing barriers–educational, social, psychological, and informational–to blue-collar workers" (p. 197). DiMaggio and Useem admit that if the extension of the arts to marginalized groups is to occur at all it "will depend upon substantial quantities of public subsidy to programs explicitly aimed at audience development among the poor and working classes and…to the development of non-traditional art forms in which working people and the poor are already involved" (1982:197). Yet, as Schafer (1982) points out, today this situation has already changed:

> Most countries can claim a large and growing network of artists, arts organizations and cultural facilities: theatre, opera and dance companies, symphony orchestras, musical ensembles, concert halls, galleries, museums, festivals, libraries and arts centres. Audiences are on the increase in virtually every country in the world as more and more people become involved in the arts as practising artists, active participants or appreciative spectators….The more the arts lose their limited, private status and become essential, public resources, the more "art for the sake of people" nudges aside "art for the sake of art" as the motivating force and dominant rationale. Today, the arts are valued more and more for their ability to enhance the quality of people's lives….Three decades ago, governments were conspicuous by their absence from the arts funding scene in all but two or three countries in the world, largely because the arts were viewed by most politicians as a private rather than public responsibility. (pp. 1-3)

Interestingly enough, many private concerns have become public concerns, that is, the public has become concerned about people's everyday lives. Schafer (1982) concludes that there is "hardly a government anywhere in the world today that has not made a substantial public commitment to the arts" (p. 3). The proliferation in support from numerous public and private sources has changed the arts in that there is not only a considerable diversification in the pattern of arts funding, but on the whole, there has been a great enhancement in artistic freedom, releasing "artists and arts organizations from their traditional dependency on a few wealthy patrons as well as on erratic fluctuations in patronage income" (Schafer, 1982:4). But as Schafer (1982) suggests, the most telling change of all has taken place in people's attitudes towards the arts:

> According to several recent studies, people hold the arts in high esteem...believing that the arts are essential not only to the quality of life, the environment, the economy and the community but also to the intellectual development and education of their children. (p. 4)

In other areas, for instance, the "attitudes of professionals—particularly politicians, businessmen and educators—have changed as well," having come to "appreciate the fundamental value of the arts in their respective fields of endeavour," which are now "viewed as activities which serve to enrich these important fields of human endeavour" (Schafer, 1982:4).

Culture and Texts

Texts are not immune to institutionalized racism, especially as they serve to provide a concrete example of post-talk cultural concepts. In his text, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* (1989), Terry Goldie attempts to explain the continual barrage of labels attached to the indigene in texts written by non-Natives in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. As Jack Healy, in his review of Goldie's book, states, "*Fear and Temptation* is a book that deals in signs, in signification as system and process" (1989:C6). Goldie, himself, writes that his interest "is not in the indigenes, but in the image of the indigenes, a white image," which as John Berger (1972) says, is "a sight which has been recreated or reproduced. It is an appearance, or a set of appearances, which has been detached from the place and time in which it first made its appearance and preserved—for a few minutes or a few centuries" (pp. 9-10). Goldie continues that "to understand the image of the indigene not the reality the texts seem to represent, the truths they claim to depict, but the reality of the texts and their ideology, and of the ideology of the authors and their culture" is to study this white apprehension of the image of the indigene (1989:4-5). He suggests that

> literature is but one of the more visible examples of the reification of the indigene, something which permeates our cultures....
>
> Behind this reality of an ideology lies another reality, of a history of invasion and oppression.... The overwhelming fact of the oppression awarded semiotic control to the invaders, and since then the image of "them" has been "ours"....
>
> Our image of the indigene has functioned then as a constant source for semiotic reproduction in which each textual image refers back to those offered before. (Goldie, 1989:5-6)

Texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality and unreality they appear to describe (Goldie, 1989:6; Joshee, 1990:4). Joshee emphasizes that for women "textbooks have frequently presented an unrealistic portrayal of our history and our contemporary life experience," and such "unrealistic coverage denies children the information they need to understand complex issues in our society" (1990:4). It is likely that Code would agree with Joshee and Goldie for she has said that

> in psychology and anthropology it is by now well known that the presence of an observer affects the nature of what is observed, and is bound to affect that nature differently according to the preconceptions an observer brings to the project. Even in carefully controlled experiments, where there is no outward, conscious difference in behaviour, the hypotheses that provide the impetus for research projects may influence the behaviour of subjects tested. The importance of this point...is obvious, for social expectation has a deep influence upon how people literally *can* be. (1988:73)

This is especially damaging from the point-of-view of the indigene in any writing about him or her that is done by non-Natives continuing to reproduce stereotype-governed knowledge which comes from seemingly well-accredited sources. For instance, in her review of Trevor Boddy's *The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal* (1989), Mary Howes reveals the "undercurrent of racism that surfaces insidiously throughout the otherwise meticulously researched text" (1990:7). Howes adds, "How else to explain the continual barrage of labels attached to Cardinal, such as hippie Indian, Metis rebel, electronic shaman, sweat lodge computer whiz, suffering warrior, prairie outsider" (1990:7). Howes points out that

> Boddy quotes, and agrees with, the puerile, vitriolic ravings of British-born Edmonton architect Peter Hemingway who accuses Cardinal of "trading on his native ancestry to get commissions...shifting from buckskins to pin-stripes...giving the performance of a snake oil salesman." Cardinal's response to this unprovoked attack by a former close friend was to maintain a civilized silence. (Howes, 1990:7)

Goldie's conclusion is that a "central factor in all of the literature on the indigene is that his or her role is invariably that of the indigene": he has investigated novels in "which a woman is not Woman or a plumber is not Plumber but there are none in which an Indian is not INDIAN" (1989:215). Even contemporary white reactions to Native peoples, which, as in the following example, are seldom overtly racist, offer up a source of analysis from the perspective of chronological distance or historical perspective that is rarely if ever offered up from an ideological distance. An example closer to home is found in E. Brian Titley's (1986) careful and original research in *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, where he has synthesized an impressive list of theses, unpublished manuscripts, reports, articles, and books by many other specialists in the field. This is an exceptional book in that Titley has provided valuable and heretofore little-known details in the study of Indian policy in the early twentieth century, and he has carefully documented Scott's career in the Department of Indian Affairs between 1880 and 1932. The major problem is that this book about Natives (like so many books about Natives by non-Natives) fails to incorporate the Native point of view. Titley does provide an accounting of the effects of the administration of Indian Affairs upon the Native population, and their attempts to organize and fight back, and he suggests empathy with the constraints and plight of the "Indians." However, the revisionist perspective he turns on Scott and his administration is also turned on the Native population and there is a deficiency in the Native's case. Whereas Scott manages to survive the revisionist perspective as a man who may be hiding his true feelings of racial superiority in order to survive his tenure as a bureaucrat, a position that many might be hard pressed to denounce outright, the Natives are not easily comprehended and are certainly not brought into any closer view. Sometimes Titley's own language (and tacit ideological perspective) gets in the way; for instance,

> The cultural revitalization aspect of the movement [Council of the Tribes] was evident in its employment of a kind of pan-Indian terminology. Time...was calculated in what was said to be the traditional manner. Accordingly, months became "moons," years became "great suns," and so forth....Further elements of ***strange*** ritual and ***peculiar*** passwords gave the movement an aura of secrecy and mystery which tended to strengthen loyalty and commitment [my emphasis]. (1986:97)

What this suggests is that even contemporary reactions to Native peoples "have a similar tendency to treat the indigene as object without recognizing the very textual position of that reification" (Goldie, 1989:220). Goldie (1989) quotes from Henry Jack's "Native Alliance for Red Power" in *The Only Good Indian* (1970), which claims that Natives will not be free "until we are able to determine our destiny" (p. 220). Goldie suggests that "the 'hold' created by white society is more encompassing than the specifically religious," and because

> it is so encompassing, the de-brainwashing cannot be limited to the indigenes. The shape and extent of the cultural conditioning in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand that consistently reifies the indigene, whether as object of fear or object of desire, must be universally recognized if the action necessary to oppose it is to be taken. (1989:221)

This seemingly minor point about Titley's book does not wholly detract from this reader's initial reaction that this important historical document has been intelligently rendered, although from a certain ideological perspective. But perhaps it is necessary for Titley himself to state his perspective and to examine it; for as Healy points out, this is what Goldie has done: the honest thing is to enter one's confusions and uncertainties into the record (Healy, 1989:C6) so as not to add another nail to the objectified indigene's image. Likely, it would be impossible to create a contemporary text involving non-Natives writing about Natives that would not be problematic. For as Derrida says, ""There's no racism without a language. The point is not that acts of racial violence are only words but rather that they have to have a word," and it is the word or sign or image which "institutes, declares, writes, inscribes, prescribes," in fact, it "does not discern, it discriminates" (as quoted in Goldie, 1989:6-7). The word, like the sign, symbol, or image, is a part of the "systems of power" which control the "Truth" of a culture (Foucault, as quoted in Goldie, 1989:7). Coward and Ellis call for an awareness of

> "the political purpose of semiology" to "produce a knowledge of sign systems and their naturalisation which can be a basis for a constant demystification of established systems of meaning: showing that what appears to be unchangeable is humanly created and can be recreated in certain directions." (as quoted in Goldie, 1989:7)

The question is whether new texts, new institutions, and new environments can be formed which are welcoming, embracing, and knowable for all. It would seem imperative to search out what Pierre Macherey has called the "ideological horizon": "that concealed but omnipresent ideology" controlling texts, institutions, and environments (as quoted in Goldie, 1989:8). For as Goldie suggests, part of the centring process or assertion of one's "truth" for any writer or reader/observer is that reader's/observer's participation in the expressed episteme, or method of knowing: "Although some theorists treat epistemology as objective, a scientifically understandable process, even a limited analysis will show that the episteme is culturally determined" (1989:8). The limitations of white, male, middle-class methods of knowing, or epistemes, create "a constant question for any representation of the indigene in a white text," and "in a very obvious sense any white writing about the indigene is writing 'about what you do not know'" (Goldie, 1989:9).

Implications

In his book, *The Betrayal of Youth* (1980), Hemming says that the supreme role of education is the development of the logical, analytical (or empirical) aspects of the mind and that the affective, intuitive, practical, social, and imaginative/creative (or critical/emancipatory) aspects are of minor importance. According to Robinson (1988), Hemming is not approving, he is merely observing. Robinson (1988) says our present conception of education and of intellectual ability is based on two paradigms: 1) the power of our logical-deductive reasoning and 2) our capacity for propositional knowledge and discursive symbolism. He points out that this is where the argument gets tricky. It is not that these "academic" abilities are not important, it is just that the preoccupation with them has caused us to unquestioningly place them on par with intellectual ability. According to Robinson (1988), this means that being academic or non-academic is taken to mean the same thing as being able or less able. He says that unfortunately the lack of academic abilities is taken to mean lack of ability in general.

According to Hemming (1980), many people have been led by their schooling to undervalue their intellectual powers because their strengths lie in "right-hemisphere functions, which they have been taught to regard as inferior" (p. 33). Hemming points out that educators such as John Dewey and Jerome Bruner have attempted to move educational practice to include "right-hemisphere functions" (speaking metaphorically and not about a neurophysiological reality), that is, to move educational practice "from excluding feeling to including it, from passive receptivity to active participation, from direction to spontaneity, from copying to creating, from the impersonal to the relational, from academic to the human, from the isolated to the social" (p. 32).

The arts opt for a broader conception of intelligence. Robinson (1988) says, "If you work in the arts, you know that you do not leave your intellect outside the door. When you engage in artistic practice, you are involved in intellectual work at the highest level." Work in the arts is not compensation for lack of intellectual ability, but rather, it is the exercising of other human intellectual capabilities which the education system has chosen to filter out (Robinson, 1988). Thus, it is work that may allow those who might have been regarded as casualties of the system to be integrated and to become fully-functioning members of their culture (community).

In China, during the academic year 1978-9, in the Half Moon Village middle school (on the rural periphery of Beijing), students were divided into two groups and were streamed on the basis of being either a rapid or a slow learner (Chance, 1987:222, 235). According to Hemming (1980),"The phenomenon of the 'late developer' may be explicable in terms of hemisphere dominance" (p. 34). If a child is a right-hemisphere personality, s/he may have trouble doing well or "taking off" in a school setting as it undervalues these powers (Hemming, 1980:34). So in China, these students were placed in separate classrooms, but within a short period of time, this practice was discontinued. According to Chance (1987), the principal reported that it did not work: "It undermined the students' spirit and stereotyped their behavior" (p. 235). What is interesting to note is that in China the performing arts have also always been tightly integrated into society (Mackerras, 1981:8). Can there be a connection made between this particular principle, inherent in arts education, and the importance the principal placed upon the affective aspects of the mind? Had the principal said that we must minimize our losses and expend energy only on those children who are "rapid" learners, this could have been justified by saying that market forces have entered the classroom. This important principle of arts education is best explained by Schafer (1982):

> The arts provide ideal vehicles for human expression.....When people are cut off from outlets for their emotions, the result is usually acts of destruction—the decimation of surroundings, the destruction of private property, vandalism, violence, racial harassment, deviant behaviour, mass discontent and mob rule. This is why the arts are so essential to contemporary society. By channelling social and personal energies along positive lines, they provide tools which counter moral, social and psychological degeneration. By preventing crises before they happen, the arts help to make the world a safer place in which to live—a place filled with love, compassion and understanding. Arts festivals, fairs, community celebrations and rituals all strengthen the social bonds of the community. When this happens, societies result which are less afflicted by human tensions and social divisions. (pp. 12-13)

People who take the time to learn about the arts discover that artists are committed to excellence and creativity above all else, are never satisfied with mediocre expression, and are constantly striving to perfect their work to the maximum of their ability (Schafer, 1982:10). Schafer's point is that in an age "epitomized by second-rate efforts and inferior products, the artist's example is a valuable one for the rest of us to follow" (1982:10).

Thus, if communication, excellence, and creativity are the lifeblood of the arts and if the arts play a valuable function in the survival of any given culture or society, then "participation is the key to vibrant artistic life," and this participation can take either the form of appreciation of the arts as a spectator or in the form of active involvement as a practitioner (Schafer, 1982:10-11). The arts function in the survival of a given culture or society as a complex and integral part, and one component of this is certainly that they provide a valuable recording service to humanity as Schafer (1982) describes:

> Since the dawn of civilization, the arts have been used to chronicle many of the greatest achievements of mankind. The evidence is overwhelming and pervasive. Entire historical periods—classicism, medievalism, the renaissance and romanticism—have been elevated for their aesthetic accomplishments. Just as plays of Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles unlock the inner meaning of classicism, so a Gothic cathedral or a painting by Fra Angelico captures the religious spirit of medievalism. Our appreciation of romanticism is enhanced by the artistry of Byron, Baudelaire or Beethoven in exactly the same way that the windows on the

> Elizabethan period are thrust open through the dramatic writings of Shakespeare and Marlowe. This record is as intimate as it is informative; it is filled with valuable information about the failures and successes, hopes and dreams, struggles with life and death that artists and intellectuals have experienced down through the ages. It stands as a tribute to the human experience, constituting what remains of a civilization long after everything is forgotten. (p. 11)

In further examination, it will become clear that people's theatre as a flourishing force in the present and in future decades will also have a dramatic effect upon the recording of the voices of those once marginalized peoples, the poor, the disenfranchised, and so forth, who will lend their cultural knowledge and experience to the next decade's potential for the survival of humankind. So often, as one can see by the names that Schafer comes up with in order to record the civilizations of the past, the so-called "high" arts have ignored these same people and their folk culture. According to Goldie (1989), this "process of colonization has left us as the white inheritors, with a legacy of untenable power structures in our societies," and an analysis of images and words "which both reflect and mold these societies is part of aching toward a system which *is* tenable" (pp. 217, 221).

Conclusion

Today, change is occurring in the cultural realm as individuals are beginning to want the kind of social programs that will help them overcome the limitations inherent in being the member of a culture. In the societal realm, individuals are seeking the ways and means to overcome the structural barriers which keep them from being a fully participating member of their society. We all belong to groups or cultures that function in ways that make possible and make difficult our participation in the greater community (society). Just as the meaning of the word *culture* is evolving and has been transformed in an often "contradictory" fashion throughout the history of its usage, cultures themselves often are transformed in a "contradictory" fashion: some members are resistant to change, and some members are willing and desirous of change. Since culture is an individual's mediator of meaning and change, any change in the cultural realm will be felt by all the members, not only in the culture, but also in the greater community (society). Society is very real in the mind of the individual for it involves the observable patterns of behavior exhibited by the members of the many, varied, and changing cultures that make up most modern societies. In order for a person to be a fully functioning member in any given society, he or she must be able to bring their cultural knowledge to bear on any action taken. This is not possible when some cultures are invalidated or denied recognition or status. The nature of change and how it affects the interaction of members of a culture or among individuals in a particular society are significant for understanding the present state of the world. Also, it is important to see how arts education is integral to mediating change, and especially how people's theatre as communication, excellence, creativity, record, participation, integration, and expression (to name a few of its components) has helped to unite artists and audiences, the arts, education, culture, and society.

CHAPTER TWO
WHAT IS THEATRE? AND HOW HAVE WE ARRIVED AT AUGUSTO BOAL'S THEATRE OF THE OPPRESSED?

> Ma per seguir virtute e canoscenza.[1]

> It is precisely the lack of an adequate sense of society that is crippling us. (Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*, as quoted in Apple, 1979:10)

> ...theater is a weapon....For this reason the ruling classes strive to take permanent hold of the theater and utilize it as a tool for domination. In so doing, they change the very concept of what "theater" is. But the theater can also be a weapon for liberation. For that, it is necessary to create appropriate theatrical forms. (Boal, 1979:ix)

> Imagination is more important than knowledge.
> (Einstein, as quoted in Evans, 1968:340)

Trying to get at what is the essential nature of theatre (or *theater*) in its many visible *forms*, shapes, arrangements of parts, mode in which it exists or manifests itself, kinds, varieties, contents, styles, begs the questions: Is there a customary method and form of theatre? Is there something that is usually done and can be seen in itself as having no special culture-specific "ideological" significance, that is, a set order (of words and action), a formula, whether informal or formal, professional or amateur, complying with or offending current social conventions, in other words, good, bad, right or wrong (with respect to correct procedure, taste, and standards)?

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1971), *theatre* can be generally defined as 1) a place constructed in the open air, for viewing dramatic plays or other spectacles: an amphitheatre: a natural formation or place suggesting such a structure: an edifice specially adapted to dramatic representations; a playhouse; 2) the stage or platform on which a play is acted; 3) a theatreful of spectators; the audience, or "house"; 4) dramatic performances as a branch of art, or as an institution; the drama; 5) dramatic works collectively; and 6) a course of action performed or a spectacle displayed;

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[1] Dante's *Divina Commedia* (xxvi.118): Consider your origins: you were not made that you might live as brutes, but so as to follow virtue and knowledge.

especially, a place or region where some thing or action is presented to public view (literally or metaphorically): a sight, scene, spectacle (pp. 3279-3280).

Such a definition of theatre is very straightforward and aboveboard (or above suspicion), that is, unobjectionable, and thus it might seem that theatre exists only in the realm of the mundane: a place, a stage, a theatreful of spectators, performances, a branch of art, an institution, collective works, action, spectacle for public view, and so forth. This does not explain how the theatre can be linked to a hegemony of ideas, preventing others from speaking or being heard in authority. Nor does it explain why we seldom allow theatre much access to our curriculum (Sutton-Smith, 1988:12). The Marxist question would likely be, Who has been, by reason of gender, class, culture, and so forth, excluded from a production of this "high" art? Perhaps it is difficult to see how theatre has developed into an aesthetic language or as a rational and orderly philosophical inquiry or investigation on the model of Augusto Boal.

But isn't theatre also a ritual, a worship of collective life, and if so, does this sacramental component raise a problematic (especially in the sense that it is left out of the dictionary definition which is most certainly an attempt to be objective about something which cannot wholly be objectified)? Continuing on from this is another question: Is the theatre a rite of solidarity or a rite of passage, or is it both?

In the theatre, as actors, we awaken responses in the rest of our group through our imitative and imaginative abilities. In this sense, theatre operates, as Mario Fratti says, as a "window open on the life of our fellow creatures," and as George Jean Nathan says, theatre is "an undying institution because it educates its audience's emotions" (respectively, as quoted in Brussel, 1988:564, 565). There is an empathic or sympathetic communication made possible in the theatre. There is a great anticipation before the actor steps out onto the stage. For as Boal (1979) says, "Learning is an emotional experience, and there is no reason to avoid such emotions"; moreover, in the theatre, empathy is the emotional relationship which is established between the audience and the actor(s) (pp.

102, 103). As the spectators watch the actors imitating life, they may have an empathic or sympathetic response that is experienced in their muscles, emotions, imagination, and so forth. The spectators are aware of the illusions being created in the theatre and yet, they may for a time be totally absorbed in the actor's action(s). The imitation and the play are pleasing for both the spectators and the actors, who are protected from the real world for a limited time, engrossed in the "in-lusio."[2] Both are captured by their imagination, impelled to forget about self, about the terrors of the chaotic outer world, the hurricane that is life going on outside the theatre.

Great actors, apparently "lost" in their roles, have been known to count the "House" in front of them or to plan what they will be having for dinner after the performance. This is not to negate that the creative and shared world of make-believe which the actor plays out in the environment of the theatre is any less absorbing for the actor than for the spectator. Both are potentially aware of real time and their lives outside the theatre at any point while playing and creating their imaginary world. This reflects philosophers' notion that the reality in which we live and have our being is also mere appearance and that another quite different reality lies beneath it:

> It is not only the agreeable and friendly images that he [or she] experiences as something universally intelligible: the serious, the troubled, the sad, the gloomy, the sudden restraints, the tricks of accident, anxious expectations, in short the whole divine comedy of life, including the inferno, also pass before him [or her], not like mere shadows on a wall—for he [or she] lives and suffers with these scenes—and yet not without that fleeting sensation of illusion. (Nietzsche, 1967: 34-35)

For the trained actor, this dual reality is heightened as he or she is the embodiment of this duality, this separation, this analysis.

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[2] Benjamin Hunningher, *The Origin of the Theater* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), p. 12. Hunningher explains, "play fences in an area of the imagination in which it creates absolute order, strictly guarded against anything which might disturb the *in-lusio*, the illusion."

If the imagination is the "creative faculty of the mind in its highest aspect; the power of framing new and striking intellectual conceptions" (see *imagination* in *O.E.D.*, 1971:1377), in other words, the "means to make images and to move them about inside one's head in new arrangements" (Bronowski, as quoted in Brussel, 1988:277), then the theatre is well-suited to be the medium of the imagination for the creation of knowledge via its analytic properties. And thus, it trains the aesthetically sensitive human being to stand

> in the same relation to the reality of dreams as the philosopher does to the reality of existence; he [or she] is a close and willing observer, for these images afford him [or her] an interpretation of life, and by reflecting on these processes he [or she] trains...for life. (Nietzsche, 1967:34)

However, being trained to take a stand, that is, learning how to interpret what we observe, is not the same as being trained to act; for example, in the Aristotelian form of theatre, where "the spectator assumes a 'passive' attitude, delegating his [or her] ability to act" (Boal, 1979:102).

This imaginative and analytic process, of which the actor, by his or her training, and by his or her active participation, is more fully aware, is that the theatre experience has the power to teach analytic thinking, sometimes without the spectators realizing that they could be learning and practicing it. For the passive spectator, this might not occur at all. He or she goes to the theatre for a cathartic experience and/or voyeuristic enjoyment. He or she may leave the theatre without further analysis. For some spectators, the active analytic component may occur after the performance is over when sitting in the coffee-house or the bar discussing and reflecting upon the play with friends. Yet, the theatre has the power to set up relevant, common, and comparable life experiences, that is, what is created and communicated to theatre's more active participants is an interpretation of the whole of life. There is the potential for great enjoyment in all of this, but the theatre is also a very serious business.

Theatre is able to influence culture and society because it operates at a very powerful level; it is without a doubt "the medium most suited to the creation and building up of ethical imagery in the popular mind" (Mackerras and Wichmann, 1983:4). Nietzsche's Dionysiac theories of art also express this passionate belief in the theatre as "the best means of stimulating the powerful, mysterious forces of the unconscious" (Steinke, 1967:60).

If theatre took place in a vacuum, it might be best defined as a communications medium or intermediary for spectators and participants through which impressions are conveyed to the senses and emotions through a symbolic language both literal and metaphorical (explicit and tacit), which engages the imagination, in an indoors or outdoors environment, with the express purpose of viewing dramatic action in at least three stages: 1) *conflict*, struggle, the clashing of oppositional forces, in which protagonist (the victim and potential victor) and antagonist (foe) armed with their one true "weapon," a basic intelligence, a reflection of an equation of intelligence with the human "innate" ability to distinguish right from wrong, confront each other in the context of a trial of wills/objectives; 2) *revelation*, the separation of components for analysis, to reflect all things in their true proportions, unveiling by investigation the actual circumstances surrounding the actions taken and which may include moments of confusion and error for the protagonist; and 3) *resolution*, laying the groundwork for eventual reward and punishment by, surprisingly, involving both the *solving* and *raising* of problems, questions, and doubts (see the definition of *medium*, *conflict*, and *resolution:* Sykes (Ed.), *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1982:197, 630, 886; and Hayden, 1974:6-7,12).

By imitating, playing, and attempting to comprehend the source of creativity, which is inside us all, theatre's participants educate themselves about life. They are literally, momentarily, saved from the "terrible destructiveness of so-called world history as well as the cruelty of nature" (Nietzsche, 1967:59). If for the moment we continue to assume that theatre can take place in this vacuum devoid of all other considerations, for example, culture, politics, economics, and technology, then the spectator can be liked to a *tabula rasa* or blank slate. In reality, human beings do not respond as blank slates, that is, without identity, divorced from culture, and so forth. In reality, human beings do not have control over their external environment; this occurs only in play, only in art. But interestingly enough, another social institution, the school, where education "for life" takes place, has also used the metaphor of the blank slate in the past to identify the position of the learner in the learning process as passive receptacle. Although social institutions, like schools and theatres, have undergone many changes, residual influences exist which place the learner in a more passive than active state, especially with regards to actors, teachers, and so forth. Also, texts and textbooks have selectively placed some cultures and the male gender in a more active role. But even in this contemporary period "of utter darkness for arts educators" (Drainie, 1990a:C1), theatres (and all the arts in general) and schools are beginning to cooperate, even if it is out of an "anything is better than what we have got" situation. By integrating, these social institutions are teaching the learner, knower, or spectator what they know about possibilities for making the learner active in his or her education. *Globe and Mail* arts columnist Bronwyn Drainie (1990a) points out,

> In small pockets and unlikely places, schools are testing the ancient hypothesis that the arts, rather than being on the fringes of education, should be at its very core. We're not talking here about what are called "magnet schools," special elementary and high schools for the arts which draw in talented children at an early age. Rather, in places as farflung as Tasmania, the South Bronx and North York (a suburb of Toronto), ordinary schools are using the arts both to teach other subjects and to improve children's attitudes about themselves as learners. (p. C1)

For example, in Hobart, Tasmania, a program called "Arts as Fundamentals of Curriculum" uses the same step-by-step process explicit in the theatre process, a process used, perhaps by all artists: "An action, then reflection, then a decision, followed by another action, more reflection, another decision" (Drainie, 1990a:C1). This kind of active involvement of the learner has also been explored in the theatre with the same results; whereas the theatre process has been used for the purposes of literacy programs in places like Brazil, Peru, and Tasmania, these schools are using the arts in a similar fashion, charting "big improvements in language and smaller ones in mathematics, plus positive behavior changes in both withdrawn and aggressive children" (Drainie, 1990a:C1). In Toronto,

> the basic philosophy behind Faywood, says North York arts consultant Bob Barton, is that for learning to stay with you, instead of sliding in one ear and out the other, you have to make it your own. "And that's exactly what the arts are all about." Although no formal studies have been done on Faywood students, both [principal] Wild and Barton say the children are more articulate, more self-confident, better listeners and more disciplined than their peers. "The arts also teach them that there isn't just one correct way to do something," says Wild, "and that's a pretty useful approach for dealing with today's society, don't you think?" (Drainie, 1990a:C1)

Since theatres and schools do not take place in a vacuum, they are also responsive to and reflective of societal and cultural structures of thought, action, and interaction.

In its political and cultural context, theatre is known as either a weapon for domination or for liberation (Boal, 1979:ix). In his *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1979), Augusto Boal analyses both forms. His analysis of theatre as a weapon for domination begins with the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). Aristotle's description of the "first, extremely powerful poetic-political system of intimidation of the spectator" is a theatre which works through pity and fear, by which the terrified spectators are linked empathically to the tragic hero for the "elimination of the 'bad' or illegal tendencies of the audience" and who are purified by *catharsis*, that is, via the release of physical, emotional, and psychic (imaginative) energy (Boal, 1979:xiv, 29-30,36).

Boal's analysis of theatre as a weapon for liberation begins with Brecht and his Marxist poetics. In Brecht's view, the spectator is seen as a social being responding to economic and social forces, who sees himself or herself in the Brechtian hero(ine), dissected, disassembled, and reassembled in a scientific demonstration carried out through artistic means (Boal, 1979:92, 95, 99).

In general, Boal (1979) poses art in two different ways: 1) the descriptive function, which is contemplative, reflective, for the purposes of diversion, aesthetic pleasure, entertainment; and 2) the analytic function, which is political, for the purposes of disseminating information, to influence, organize, incite to action (p. xiii), and, perhaps, ultimately to reaffirm civilized persons abhorrence of cruelty and injustice, at any time, and in any culture (Hayden, 1974:5). One is inherently passive, and *appears* to be apolitical, and the other is a call for action. However, Boal makes the point that even in its passive function, theatre is political as it is seen to be connected to the repression of action, that is, through its power of projecting the spectators into the characters on stage (and thus so fully comprehending and/or being mystified by their objects of contemplation), this type of theatre inevitably reduces the spectators' own ability to act (Boal, 1979:xiv, 25, 27, 29-30, 32, 33). For instance, in the case of Aristotelian tragedy, where the hero's initial virtue becomes his fault and causes conflict by not being in harmony with what society regards as desirable, the spectator who is living vicariously, through his or her imagination, emotions, and body, and who is thus linked with the character, remains, "if not uniformly satisfied, at least uniformly passive" with respect to society's criteria of inequality (Boal, 1979:25, 29-30, 31, 32, 34, 40).

It is the individual who must change to fit in with society. Thus, how we interpret what we observe is directly related to standards of interpretation allowable by society's dominant institutions of knowledge. Such a coercive system of theatre "functions to diminish, placate, satisfy, eliminate all that can break the balance—all, including the revolutionary, transforming impetus" (Boal, 1979:47, 36, 39). In Aristotle's sense, theatre functions within a society to create and maintain a universe of definite, accepted, exclusive values (Boal, 1979:46). Theatre's coercive function can be used to show the correct and accepted way of solving doubts, problems, and questions during those times when societies and cultures are being maintained and stabilized, and other "alien" cultures are being confronted and controlled. Mackerras and Wichmann (1983) state that "virtually anyone can become influenced by the value systems of the characters on stage without realizing it" (p. 4). This is because "people enjoy the spectacle of good triumphing over evil," that is, of one value system triumphing over another, "and the necessity of providing theatrical conflict inevitably made theater a powerful, if inadvertent, didactic medium" (Mackerras and Wichmann, 1983: 5). A theatrical work

> can be a political document without mentioning any actual political event. Indirect comment on the structures of a social system, and implicit support of certain values against others, can be readily communicated by an apparently apolitical stage attraction. (Mackerras and Wichmann, 1983: 6)

During those times when global links are less apparent and/or significant, and when the ways of relating to others outside cultural and societal structures is to confront, it is ultimately the goal of theatre to enhance and to affirm a particular way, or more accurately, the dominant group's way of functioning and way of knowing. This can only lead to the distinction of societies and cultures as separate entities, to what Heraclitus calls the "appearance of stability," which he pronounces to be a mere illusion of the senses which must be corrected, consistently, and constantly, by reason (as quoted in Boal, 1979:3).

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, in his 1990 New Year's address, speaking as a leader, playwright, and as a civil-rights activist, describes what happens when this goes on for far too long:

> The worst thing is that we live in a contaminated moral environment. We fell morally ill because we became used to saying something different from what we think. We learned not to believe in anything, to ignore each other, to care only about ourselves. Concepts such as love, friendship, compassion, humility or forgiveness, lost their depth and dimensions and for many of us they represent only psychological peculiarities....

> The previous regime, armed with its arrogant and intolerant ideology, degraded people into a productive force and nature into a tool of production...it reduced gifted and autonomous people, skilfully working in their own country, to nuts and bolts of some monstrously huge, noisy and stinking machine, whose real meaning is not clear to anyone....
>
> When I talk about contaminated moral atmosphere I am talking about all of us. We had all become used to [a] system and accepted it as an unchangeable fact and thus helped to perpetuate it. (as quoted in "Turning people..., 1990:A7)

He is speaking to his countrymen and women but he may as well be speaking to the rest of the world about the cultural, social, and emotional bankrupt state that such a coercive system eventually has upon social institutions. We live in a world where interaction between cultures and societies demands that we become willing participants or indifferent slaves.

Art history can be seen to be parallel (if one's definition of history is linear) to political, social, and cultural history. The Renaissance is a good example of a period of time when all the changes going on coincided with dramatic changes in art: a direct reflection and comment on what was going on with the rest of the world (See also Roger Fry, *Art and Commerce*, 1926). This is a happy circumstance for artists. Likely, Havel would agree that the 1990s are a time like that: Every time you turn around there is another artist reflecting on and commenting on what is going on.

For Brecht, theatre, like society, is in transition, a reflection of the times, that is, of the political, social, and economic context; theatrical work must show "the human dilemma in the social or political conflict" (Beckley, 1967:127), "the ways in which society loses its equilibrium, which way society is moving, and how to hasten the transition" (Boal, 1979:105). Brecht changed the theatrical form

> to alienate the subject-matter of the drama by destroying the illusion, interrupting the course of the action, and lowering the tension, so that the audience could remain emotionally disengaged during the performance capable of taking an intelligent-objective view of what it was offered. (Beckley, 1967:126)

He did this because, as a Marxist, he believed that "a theatrical work cannot end in repose, in equilibrium" (Boal, 1979:105). Whereas Hegel and Aristotle saw theatre "as a purging of the spectator's 'antiestablishment' characteristics," Brecht, as a child of a scientific age, saw theatre as a medium for the scientific age, which "clarifies concepts, reveals truths, exposes contradictions, and proposes transformations" (See Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre*, 1977:179-205; Boal, 1979:106).

Essentially, Boal's poetics of the oppressed focus on the element of action, and the audience member delegates no power to the actor either to act or to think in his or her place; rather, the spectator assumes the role of the protagonist, "changes the dramatic action, tries out solutions, discusses plans for change," in short, trains for real action (1979:122). As Brecht points out, "For art to be 'unpolitical' means only to ally itself with the 'ruling' group" (as quoted in Burns, 1988:37).

Boal took this one step further to arrive at a form of theatre where all members of a society, but particularly the oppressed, can learn to become articulate (and more conscious) in the emotional, imaginative, intellectual, and cultural realms. Boal's argument is that points of view cannot be harmonized or universalized and that a denial of conflict of interest between society and its individual members keeps us to a single definition of knowledge and, thus, limits what is possible in a given society. Hopefully, this theatre can be transformed so that it allows the practitioner to work with even his or her worst enemy for a concerted effort.

David Diamond, a Native Canadian playwright working in Vancouver, B.C., has also taken hold of Boal's ideas, with one cultural modification: theatre can be used to promote acceptance of a certain amount of mystery and inability to control human nature and nature as long as it is used as a forum to show the ongoing debate of ideas, of knowledge and of experience that must occur between Western values and Native values. For example, Boal's theatre can be used to show the way to a new morality needed to transcend both these systems of thought and belief. Diamond's work will be examined in detail in a later chapter.

As demonstrated by all of Havel's plays, the challenge in the 1990s and in the future "is to show...that everyone must help establish and maintain a free society" (Sutherland and Gershkovitch, 1990:A7). His plays, especially after his own fall from grace in 1969, when his works were banned in Czechoslovakia, provide the framework for analysis of a totalitarian state "and the new morality needed to transcend both socialist and Western values" (Sutherland and Gershkovitch, 1990:A7). Sharon Sutherland, a doctoral candidate in drama at the University of Toronto, and Eli Gershkovitch, a Vancouver writer specializing in political science and law, critically review Havel's post-1969 "fascinating and instructive one-act plays about a dissident playwright named Ferdinand Vanek" (1990:A7). During the course of these one-acts, the silent, non-judgmental playwright/character, whom Sutherland and Gershkovitch pronounce to be of "unimpeachable integrity," encounters someone: Such persons running the spectrum from brewmaster (or boss) to wealthy friend who have been successful within the totalitarian regime (1990:A7):

> In Audience (1975), Vanek is a laborer in a brewery—a job Mr. Havel held shortly after his plays were first banned. The brewmaster asks Vanek to prepare reports on his own dissident activities in exchange for lighter work. Needless to say, he refused. (Sutherland and Gershkovitch, 1990:A7)

The characters that Vanek meets up with have for their own reasons accepted state limitations on their own fundamental freedoms. Since Havel's plays contain many autobiographical details, they show the power of the theatre to analyze one's own experience, even when doing so is an act that actually led to Havel's 1979 arrest and sentencing to 4 1/2 years in prison (Sutherland and Gershkovitch, 1990:A7). Surprisingly, Havel displays in these plays "remarkable sympathy" for both the oppressor and the dissident, and his willingness now as Czechoslovakian president "to extend a general amnesty is perhaps best understood in this context" (Sutherland and Gershkovitch, 1990:A7). This belief is a much more contemporary concept than even Boal is comfortable with; that is,

> the oppressors are no more free from the tyranny of ideology than the oppressed, and ultimately both are responsible for allowing it to dominate their lives....In the end, what separates the two is merely the willingness of the oppressor to rationalize an irrational system; the dissident rejects the system outright. (Sutherland and Gershkovitch, 1990:A7)

Havel also demonstrates that for those who are "afraid to act, the fear is not irrational" (Sutherland and Gershkovitch, 1990:A7).

Boal's book (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed* reflects his understanding of the power of theatre, and it documents his work: 1) the development of a Brazilian theatre that is close to the people, the creation of Brazilian characters (text) for Brazilian actors, the translation of classical texts into indigenous forms, and the repudiation of "colonial" forms and colonial theatrical works (texts) as the only and therefore the best forms of theatre; 2) the discovery (and conscientization) of valid symbols and a language not only for groups (cultures), but perhaps for a whole community; 3) the destruction of traditional and deeply-rooted theatrical conventions which persist as mechanical and aesthetic limitations on creative freedom, such as, the demolishing of the wall between actors and spectators, the motivation of spectators to break the action (illusion) of a dramatic presentation for purposes of analysis, and the seeking of collective interpretations as opposed to individual interpretations in the creation/presentation of text; 4) the use of theatre as a rehearsal to create the possibilities for revolution (transformation), that is, to exert a creative influence back on reality rather than just reflecting it the way it is; 5) the theatre as a tool for development and for educational purposes to show how oppression and compliance to oppression are carried (translated) into the body and the mind; 6) the development and involvement of a specialized "joker/cultural animateur" to intervene in dramatic presentation to guard against too high a degree of abstraction which negates empathic response; and 7) the creation of a theatre which is stylistically eclectic rather than just naturalistic or any one style because after all this new theatre is a theatre of change, of movement, of alternative ways of thinking and acting (pp. 112, 122, 124, 134, 135, 139, 159-163, 165, 167, 168, 170, 172, 181).

Boal (1979) understands this powerful aspect of theatre, and he raises some important questions: How can human beings act virtuously unless they know the reasons for their actions, and in what way they are being manipulated by the hegemony of ideas which the media works to promote and of which theatre functions as a significant component? He argues against ignorance and illiteracy by claiming that individuals who act in ignorance practice neither virtue nor vice. How can an individual safeguard his or her own well-being and survival if he or she is naive? The individual must know the true terms of his or her options (Boal, 1979:19) in order to be held accountable, as well as, in order to be able to make appropriate choices.

Just as Brecht said,

> Edging as close as possible to the apparatus of education and mass communication....theatre constructs its representations of society, which are then in a position to influence that society...for those who are constructing society it sets out society's experiences, past and present alike, in such a manner that audiences can "appreciate" the feelings, insights and impulses which are distilled by the wisest, most active, and most passionate among us from the events of the day or the century. They must be entertained with the wisdom that comes from the solution of problems, with the anger that is a practical expression of sympathy with the underdog, with the respect due to those who respect humanity. (as quoted in Burns, 1988:37-38)

According to Boal, the theatre of the past represents a society incapable of being influenced by its culturally diverse members.

Theatre's analytic function is called into play during those times when a "cultural revolution" or transformation is coming into play. Given the changes in cultural and structural/power relationships in a complex and fast-changing world where global links are becoming more and more apparent, theatre's influence today can be measured by the extent to which it corresponds to changes in the surrounding political, social, and cultural context. No culture and no society can effectively go backwards into the future.

Boal's work in Brazil and in Peru using theatre as a tool for development is significant in that he has gone into communities to work for literacy, like another Brazilian compatriot and liberationist educator, Paulo Freire, with whom Boal has worked (Spry, 1988). Boal's aims to teach literacy in both the first language and in Spanish, without forcing the abandonment of the former in favor of the latter, and to teach literacy in all possible languages, especially the artistic ones (1979:121), are commendable. He discusses the use of photography to discover valid symbols for a whole community or a social group (1979:124) because some symbols are meaningless for some, especially for those who have been powerless and voiceless in society. For instance, he relates a marvellous story about how he asked groups to come up with their photographic symbols for oppression. In one group, a nail on a wall became the most powerful signifier. For this group of young boys who live in shacks in a shanty town outside Lima, Peru, they must travel to and from the city everyday to make money to survive on their own or to provide for their families, their mothers and/or fathers, and siblings: "The simplest work boys engage in at the age of five or six is shining shoes" (Boal, 1979:125). Some of these children are without family and without shelter: Their shoe-shine kit is their tool for survival, and it must be left somewhere for safe-keeping and to save the burden of having to be carried into the city (which can be many miles away) and back everyday. In the city, every child who is a shoeshine business person must rent a nail on a wall in some other person's establishment. By doing so, the child is also responsible for paying an inordinate amount of the money he or she makes to pay for rent, which can be as much as 75% or more of the shoeshiner's daily intake (Boal, 1979:125). Obviously, to impose other symbols such as guns, a crown, alcohol, a father's belt, garbage, rats, empty pockets, books, Uncle Sam, and so forth upon a community as symbols of oppression does not allow them to get at their own authentic language and ways of understanding. For instance, a "royal crown may symbolize power, but a symbol only functions as such if its meaning is shared" (Boal, 1979:124-5). Had Boal or his workers, in this literacy experiment, imposed their own symbols of oppression upon such a group (which they did not), the people's own deepest understanding would have been overlooked and robbed of legitimacy. As Boal relates, "It happens many times that well-intentioned theatrical groups use symbols that are meaningless for that audience" (1979:124). How often are schools guilty of the same?

However, as Boal states,

> It is easy enough to give a camera to someone who has never taken a picture before, tell him [or her] how to focus it and which button to press. With this alone the means of...production [and of cultural expression] are in the hands of that person. But what is to be done in the case of the theater? (1979:125)

The theatre's means of production and cultural expression is obviously more difficult to manage for it is embodied in the person. Boal takes the "first word of the theatrical vocabulary [which] is the human body, the main source of sound and movement" (1979:125) and teaches what is highly significant not only for theatre but also for education, and ultimately transformative, that is, to know one's body, to control it and its means of production in order to become more expressive and active. For the purposes of transformation and as a rehearsal for revolution, Boal teaches the spectator to practice theatrical forms in which by stages he or she is freed from the passive condition of spectator to become the actor and therefore ceases to be an object (1979:126) or subject to others' means of production in the cultural and societal realms.

Boal outlines four stages crucial to turn a spectator or subject into a protagonist: 1) *Knowing the body*; 2) *Making the body expressive*; 3) *The theater as language*; and 4) *The theater as discourse* (1979:126).

First, Boal outlines a series of exercises by which one gets to know one's body, its limitations and possibilities, its social distortions (for instance, if one has worked as a secretary, bureaucrat, or factory worker, then the body is similarly shaped, as is the mind), its possibilities of rehabilitation (1979:126), and its transformative action. Boal expects "to undo the muscular structure of the participants" (1979:128) as a starting point to eventually undo and do over the larger structures in which this participant has helped to perpetuate. According to Boal, knowing one's body precludes naiveté, ignorance, and folly and breeds self-confidence and self-determination. In this way, the individual may understand, see, and feel to what degree his or her body is governed by work, culture, and society and may "physically interpret characters other than oneself" (Boal, 1979:128). This transformative physical act is important and necessary to allow the participant to practice alternative ways of knowing and understanding and to engage in role-play for problem-solving in the future, but in a realistic manner.

Secondly, Boal leads the spectator-actor through a series of games by which he or she begins to express him or herself through the body, "abandoning other, more common and habitual forms of expression" (1979:126). As Boal says, "We are used to expressing everything through words," but words can be deceptive and lead to misunderstanding: "Each word has a denotation that is the same for all, but it also has a connotation that is unique for each individual" (1979:130, 138). Not only is communication ultimately enhanced, but also the clarity of one's conception, if the participant shows, rather than tells, what he or she thinks and how he or she has arrived at their conception. As Martin Esslin has said in *An Anatomy of Drama* (1978),

> drama is not only the most concrete—that is the least abstract—artistic imitation of real human behaviour, it is also the most concrete form in which we can think about human situations. The higher the level of abstraction, the more remote thought becomes from human reality. It is one thing to argue, for example, that capital punishment is effective or ineffective, quite another to translate that abstract concept, which may be buttressed by statistics, into human reality. That we can only do by imagining the case

> of one human being involved in capital punishment—and the best way to do it is to write and act a play about it. It is no coincidence that the think tanks trying to work out plans for action for various future contingency such as epidemics or nuclear wars do this in terms of scenarios for possible sequences of events. In other words they are translating their statistics, their computer data, into dramatic form, the concrete situations which have to be acted out with all the imponderables such as the individual psychological reaction of the decision makers involved. (as quoted in Burns, 1988:15)

As Esslin says, "Drama therefore can be seen as a form of thought, a cognitive process, a method by which we can translate abstract concepts into concrete human terms, or by which we can set up a situation and work out its consequences" (as quoted in Burns, 1988:15). Plus, it is important to emphasize that the actors and the playwright(s) are only half of the theatre process: "the other half is the audience and its reaction. Without an audience there is no drama" (Esslin, as quoted in Burns, 1988:15).

Thirdly, Boal encourages the participants to practice "theater as a language that is living," and in the present, "not as a finished product displaying images from the past" (1979:126). This theatre as language stage can be broken down into three different types of theater practice: 1) *Simultaneous dramaturgy*; 2) *Image theater*; and 3) *Forum theater* (1979:126).

Simultaneous dramaturgy is where the spectators "write" simultaneously with the acting of the actors and involves the participants in the performance of a short scene, developed on a specific theme, taking a problem through to its main crisis whereby a solution must be sought (Boal, 1979:132). At this point the actors stop the action and request a solution from the audience. All suggested solutions are immediately improvised by the actors, that is, "the spectator's thoughts are discussed theatrically on stage with the help of the actors," and this effectively demolishes the "fourth" wall (that imaginary barrier across the front of the stage) which separates the actors from the spectators (Boal, 1979:134). This is much the same way as Freire has attempted to break through the classroom's fourth wall which separates the teacher from the students. For Freire (1970) believes that transformative education is a way to "negate accepted limits and open the way to the future," and so it also means creating a new relationship between the teacher and those who are taught, breaking down the social, cultural, and political walls, limits, or barriers between (pp. 12, 13). It is his conviction that the student (and perhaps even the teacher),

> no matter how "ignorant" or submerged in the "culture of silence" he [or she] may be, is capable of looking critically at his [or her] world in a dialogical encounter with others. Provided with the proper tools for such encounter, he [or she] can gradually perceive his [or her] personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of his [or her] own perception of that reality, and deal critically with it. (Freire, 1970:13)

Freire adds, reminiscent of Brecht and Boal, that "our advanced technological society is rapidly making objects of most of us and subtly programming us into conformity to the logic of its system. To the degree that this happens, we are also becoming submerged in a new 'culture of silence'"(1970:14).

In simultaneous dramaturgy, Boal provides the proper tools for just such a dialogical or dialectical encounter between the teacher and the taught. Both the actors and spectators are given a "live" view of any and all actions and their likely consequences and drawbacks "without censorship." This has real consequences to affirm the spectator or the student's own way of knowing and to change the actor or the teacher who may have been somewhat limited in his or her selections of interpretations in the past. What these tools do is to open up the world of possibility by allowing all the voices to be heard.

> The actor [and/or teacher] does not change his [or her] main function: he[or she] goes on being the interpreter. What changes is the object of...interpretation. If formerly he [or she] interpreted the solitary author locked in his [or her] studio...here on the contrary, he [or she] must interpret the mass audience, assembled in their local committees, societies of "friends of the *barrio*," groups of neighbors, schools, unions, peasant leagues, or whatever; he [or she] must give expression to the collective thought of men and women. (Boal, 1979:134)

Boal's example of simultaneous dramaturgy takes place in a *barrio* of San Hilarion, Lima, Peru. A woman proposes a rather controversial theme which deals with husband and wife relations. Years ago, the woman's husband had asked her to keep some "extremely" important documents for him, but recently, after a fight, the woman decided to find out what the letters contained. Being illiterate, she asked a neighbor to read them to her, and "to the surprise and amusement of the whole *barrio*," they turned out to be love letters written by the husband's mistress (Boal, 1979:132-133). According to Boal, "the actors improvised the scenes until the moment when the husband returns home at night, after his wife has uncovered the mystery of the letters" (1979:133). The main crisis is that the woman wants revenge: how is she to get it? At this point, the action is interrupted, and the cultural animateur asked the spectators to intervene: here are some of the suggested solutions:

> 1) To cry a lot in order to make him feel guilty....The actress...cried a lot, the husband consoled her, and when the crying was over he asked her to serve his dinner; and everything remained as it was before.... The audience did not accept this solution.
>
> 2) To abandon the house, leaving her husband alone as a punishment. The actress carried out this suggestion and, after reproaching her husband for his wicked behavior, grabbed her things, put them in a bag, and left him alone, very lonely, so that he would learn a lesson. But upon leaving the house (that is, her own house), she asked the public about what she should do next. In punishing her husband she ended up punishing herself....
>
> 3) To lock the house so that the husband would have to go away....The husband repeatedly begs to be let in, but the wife steadfastly refused. After insisting several times, the husband commented: "Very well, I'll go away. They paid me my salary today, so I'll take the money and go live with my mistress and you can just get by the best way you can." And he left. The actress commented that she did not like this solution, since the husband went to live with the other woman, and what about the wife? How is she going to live now? The poor woman does not make enough money to support herself and cannot get along without her husband.
>
> 4) The last solution was presented by a large, exuberant woman; it was the solution accepted unanimously by the

> entire audience, men and women. She said: "Do it like this: let him come in, get a really big stick, and hit him with all your might—give him a good beating. After you've beat him enough for him to feel repentant, put the stick away, serve him his dinner with affection, and forgive him...."
> The actress performed this version, after overcoming the natural resistence of the actor who was playing the husband, after a barrage of blows—to the amusement of the audience—the two of them sat at the table, ate, and discussed the latest measures taken by the government.... (Boal, 1979:133-134)

This is a particularly good example because in it we can hear the voices of the people, as they are, without fear of censorship, and these voices may even appear quite alien, uncivilized, and/or illegitimate to knowledge power brokers, members of high culture, the elite, teachers, even actors (entrenched in the theatre of the past), and those who control the allowable forms of cultural expression.

Boal's work, along with that of Freire, shows in practice how the theatre and theatre-based tools for education "can be placed at the service of the oppressed, so that they can express themselves" and use this new language (for example, theatre, photography, symbols) to discover new and alternative concepts (Boal, 1979:121). In the meantime, the people themselves also learn how to communicate more forcefully and effectively with each other and with outsiders.

Since culture is often only recognizable in the form it takes "post-talk," and texts themselves are good examples of "post-talk" forms of cultural expression, it is also necessary to examine Boal for tacit and explicit perspectives. Public expressions like plays, scripts, and texts can be seen as the embodiment of George Orwell's *doublethink*, which he defined as the "power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them" (as quoted in Groen, 1990:C1). Certainly, we are all guilty, if that is the correct term, of holding and of expressing contradictory beliefs. No text, and likely no play, is immune. In order to understand ourselves, and especially to find our identity in contemporary multicultural societies, we have to have tools at hand to examine ourselves, to eradicate bias, to get along with many others, and to communicate.

But there is an important weakness in Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" model: at no time does Boal turn the tables upon himself. It seems that he is ignorant of how theatre and its powers of analysis can be turned upon people like himself. This does not necessarily weaken his model; rather, it takes it further than perhaps even if he is prepared to see it go. In that it operates as a organ of communications, theatre links the past, present, and future. Because the theatre, like all mediums through which powerful impressions are conveyed to the senses, has this ability, it reveals where the "knower" has come from, where he or she is presently at, and perhaps even where he or she is going to in the future.

A playwright like Havel, who writes out of his own experience, about himself and what he knows, is using the "theatre of the oppressed" model internally, and he is much more likely than Boal to enter his confusions and his own uncertainties into the record. Boal, on the other hand, tends to write himself out of the text, perhaps in order to remain objective and to show that his use of the "theatre of the oppressed" model is a rational, logical, and analytical inquiry. But this is deceptive. It is a purported model which can be used by the people themselves in order for them to express themselves and their "theatre imagination"; something we know is culturally-relative, multiple, differentiated, contrary, and power-oriented (Sutton-Smith, 1988:18). So while in the previous example of simultaneous dramaturgy which took place in a barrio of Lima, Peru, this use of the "theatre imagination" by the people is made explicit, we still have to deal with Boal's own perspective as observer/interpreter, like our own as reader, influenced to some degree by the Western educational tradition which has a strong "preference for the rational over the irrational usages, for scientific imaginative knowledge over literary imaginative knowledge, for stable over flexible usages, for educational over entertainment usages, and for conformist over unique usages" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:18-19). The Western reader would likely "prefer to think of the imagination as poetic," and he or she is not comfortable with its chaotic, "irrational dionysian aspects" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:19). Depending upon the reader, such a use of the "theatre imagination" can be interpreted in "haloed or deranged terms" (Sutton-Smith, 1988:19). Sutton-Smith (1988) explains that this Western interpretation is "derived from historical Romanticism," and in order for us to be truly non-judgmental, he would prefer us to think of the "theatre imagination"

> as you might think of any other mental function, like memory or attention or language, which are neither good nor bad in themselves but become so within the context of particular values. Hitler was imaginative and so was Shakespeare. The difference doesn't lie in the function of "what if-ing" but in the ends to which it was devoted. The subjunctive mood of mind may be different from the indicative and the imperative, but it is just as universal. (p. 19)

So rather than judging or straining to evaluate the "theatre imagination," it is much more necessary to turn it on ourselves, in the way that we would have our spectators or students turn it on themselves, in the way that Havel has turned in on himself. For as Havel says, "Our main enemy today is our own bad traits" ("Turning people..., 1990:A7). Namely, let us use this form of art to improve ourselves and the world. Further to this, Boal might use his own theatre imagination to examine the structures of the language he uses (overuse of male pronouns) and the way he describes women in physical terms; for instance, in the previous theatre exercise he describes the last woman as "large and exuberant" when he does not describe the physical attributes of any of the men. However, not to put too fine a point on it, one of Boal's dramatic influences, besides Brecht and Stanislavsky, is the circus of Brazil (in his own words), and he describes the circus spectacle as gross, violent, strong, heavy (Quiles and Schuttler, 1983:15). So his description may have less to do with his *machismo* than with his eye for the extraordinary or larger than life figure.

As Derrida has pointed out, there is no racism without a language; it is also true that there is no patriarchy without a language. Without the drive to examine our own bad traits or habits, and to get at what they are, the amount of change or transformation within a given society will be limited and will likely be in the hands of people with a measure of control over us. There is still a gulf between leaders and *en pueblo*, the people, the masses. Persons who use the theatre with the purpose of changing or transforming the people without being transformed themselves are simply reproducing the same hierarchy over and over. And it is part of the norm that the leaders, teachers, or knowledge power brokers do not have to make any changes. As an aesthetic language, the theatre has the possibility to make cultural and societal structures explicit because it is a form of "post-talk" cultural expression. Boal provides more and more formal organization of spontaneous behavior, and such systematization itself may lead to further impoverization and marginalization of the people themselves. The cultural and societal strait-jacket of hierarchical structures never disappears. Even though "theatres are factories of spectacles," Boal has said, "they have an ideology" (Quiles and Schuttler, 1983:19). Perhaps it is the form of the "theatre imagination" which is missing in these societies, which makes change almost impossible. The form is best expressed by the deconstructionists who take the language and destroy it, rendering communication impossible, because as they say it is impossible to communicate with this structure anyway. Otherwise, the society and the culture will continue to patrol itself, and the nature of the relations between members will still continue to lead to further mystification and further concealment. It is an act of misteaching when theatre is used in a one-way or irreversible communication. At no time does Boal tell us what the people have taught him about himself, that is, the dialectics of his own model.

Some of the most vibrant community organizations in Latin America have become organized around the needs of women: From Mexico to El Salvador to Nicaragua, women are the backbone of these movements (Fred Judson, personal communication, March 7, 1990). Change is dialectical, and transformation does not always take place at the macro level; rather, sometimes it can begin at the micro level. Women in these developing countries have links with women in the rest of the world through many formal organizations which will bring them together in a dialogue about their common interests and their common struggle; for instance, they will engage in a dialogue about the effects of militarization upon themselves and their families, and they will most often use a popular theatre model like Boal to help them do so. They have as their common enemy the *machismo* or ultramasculinity that defines the world.

In Boal's *Image theater,* the spectators learn to intervene directly, speaking through images made with the actors' bodies: An issue or question is explored by a group through a non-verbal group sculpture. Each person in the sculpture represents an aspect of the issue. The participants are asked to express themes of common interest which they would like to explore, for example, waiting in line at the government bureau to renew a licence, paying taxes, or "a local problem such as the lack of water, a common occurrence in almost all the *barrios*" (Boal, 1979:135). There are many ways that Image Theatre can be used, but the one essential is that the participants work without speaking, using their own bodies or sculpting the others' bodies in such a way that the image-maker's opinions and feelings become evident. The image-maker must determine the position of each body in his or her image "down to the most minute details of their facial expressions" (Boal, 1979:135). This is then broken down into three images or pictures, the actual image, the ideal image, and a transitional image, to show how it would be possible to pass from one to the other (Boal, 1979:135). This can be a very powerful motif or thematic development; for instance,

> A young woman, a literacy agent who lived in the village of Otuzco [Peru], was asked to explain, through a grouping of live images, what her home town was like. In Otuzco, before the present Revolutionary Government, there was a peasant rebellion; the landlords (that no longer exist in Peru), imprisoned the leader of the rebellion, took him to the main square, and in front of everyone, castrated him. The young woman...composed the image of the castration, placing one of the participants on the ground while another pretended to be castrating him and still another held him from behind. Then at one side she placed a woman praying,

> on her knees, and at the other side a group of five men and women, also on their knees, with hands tied behind their backs. Behind the man being castrated, the young woman placed another participant in a position obviously suggestive of power and violence and, behind him, two armed men pointing their guns at the prisoner.
>
> This was the image that person had of her village. A terrible, pessimistic, defeatist image, but also a true reflection of something that had actually taken place. (Boal, 1979:135-136)

In her ideal image, the young woman regrouped the statues "as people who worked in peace and loved each other—in short, a happy and contented, ideal Otuzco" (Boal, 1979:136). At this point, the spectators are asked, "How can one, starting with the actual image, arrive at the ideal image? How to bring about the change, the transformation, the revolution?" (Boal, 1979:136). This is the third and most important part of this form of theatre.

When asked to form the transitional image (the image of change), another young woman from the interior of Peru "would never change the image of the kneeling woman, signifying clearly that she did not see in that woman a potential force for revolutionary change" (Boal, 1979:136). The female spectators particularly identified themselves with "that feminine figure and, since they could not perceive themselves as possible protagonists of the revolution, they left unmodified the image of the kneeling woman" (Boal, 1979:136). However, a "liberated" woman from Lima, Peru, changed the figure of the kneeling woman, "changing precisely that image with which she identified herself" (Boal, 1979:136). Boal (1979) explains,

> Undoubtedly the different patterns of action represent not chance occurrence but the sincere, visual expression of the ideology and psychology of the participants. The young women from Lima always modified the image: some would make the woman clasp the figure of the castrated man, others would prompt the woman to fight against the castrator, etc. Those from the interior did little more than allow the woman to lift her hands in prayer.... (pp. 136-137)

Another woman who belonged to the upper middle class made all kinds of changes, "leaving untouched only the five persons with their hands tied" (Boal, 1979:137). She showed signs of nervousness when she was not able to make any further changes to the group of tied figures, and another participant suggested to her the possibility of changing them. At this moment

> the girl looked at them in surprise and exclaimed: "The truth is that those people didn't fit in!"....It was the truth. The people did not fit into her view of the scheme of things, and she had never before been able to see it. (Boal, 1979:137)

As Boal points out, "This form of image theater is without doubt one of the most stimulating, because it is so easy to practice and because of its extraordinary capacity for making thought *visible*" (1979:137).

Forum theater is another audience participation approach whereby the audience using predetermined signals is invited to stop the performance and take over by acting out the role of one of the "oppressed" characters in order to act out their way of resolving the conflict. The "displaced actor" moves aside, "ready to resume action the moment the participant considers his [or her] own intervention to be terminated" (Boal, 1979:139). It is up to the other actors to face the newly created situation by improvising and "responding instantly to all the possibilities that it may present" (Boal, 1979:139). The most important aspect of Forum theatre is that

> Anyone may propose any solution, but it must be done on the stage, working, acting, doing things, and not from the comfort of his [or her] seat. Often a person is very revolutionary when in a public forum he [or she] envisages and advocates revolutionary and heroic acts; on the other hand, he [or she] often realizes that things are not so easy when he [or she] has to practice what he [or she] suggests. (Boal, 1979:139)

For as Boal says, "Many people who in theoretical discussions advocate throwing bombs would not know what to do in reality, and would probably be the first to perish in the explosion" (1979:141).

Forum theatre, as well as the other forms of people's theatre, instead of taking something away from the spectator, that is, his or her ability to act, evoke in him or her a desire to practice in reality the act that he or she has rehearsed in the theatre (Boal, 1979:141). The spectator-actor is intrigued: If I did *this* would *that* really happen, in other words, what are the consequences of my actions?

The theater as discourse involves simple forms of theatre in which the spectator-actor can create "spectacles" according to his or her need to discuss certain themes or rehearse certain actions: 1) Newspaper theater, or the living newspaper: a way of exploring media bias, and how we get our images of the world; 2) Invisible theater or "guerilla" theatre: confronting a controversial issue in a public setting, like a supermarket check-out line, and so forth; 3) Photo-romance theater or theatre photojournal: a way of looking at escapist popular culture, for example, comic books, soap operas, Harlequin romances, and how they shape people's values; 4) Breaking of or Struggle against the Repression: group members are asked to recall a time when they felt they had been repressed and act out these personal stories to find the positive endings that *are* possible; 5) Myth theater: fables or folklore common to the group is analyzed for power structures, class bias, and their hidden truths revealed, by experimenting with various theatrical interpretations; 6) Analytical theater: a story is told, and the actors improvise it, breaking each character down into all his social roles to show that human actions are not the exclusive result of individual psychology as the individual speaks his class, culture, age, and gender; and 7) Masks and rituals: a way of examining a ritual or basic need common to all people, food, clothing, shelter, and so forth, to explore how the ritual or basic need differs according to the social mask of the role-player (Boal, 1979:143-153).

Boal's development and involvement of a specialized "joker/cultural animateur" does not arise out of a vacuum, for as he says, "It always appears in answer to esthetic and social stimuli and needs" (1979:173). Boal's creation of a theatre which is stylistically eclectic rather than just naturalistic or any one style comes from his belief that art is a form of knowledge: the artist, therefore has the obligation of interpreting reality, making it understandable (1979:171), much the same way that the teacher is called upon to aid or guide the student. But if instead of interpreting, the artist or teacher is limited to reproducing it, he or she "will be failing to comprehend it or to make it comprehensible" (Boal, 1979:171). Boal (1979) points out that,

> In the underdeveloped countries, however, the custom was to choose the theater of the "great cultural centers" as a model and a goal. The public at hand is rejected in favor of a distant public, of which one dreams. The artist does not allow himself [or herself] to be influenced by those around him [or her] and dreams of the so-called "educated" or "cultured" spectators. He [or she] tries to absorb alien traditions without having a firm foundation in his [or her] native tradition, he [or she] receives a culture as if it were the divine word, without saying a single word of his [or her] own. (p. 174)

Boal (1979) believes that by utilizing only naturalistic forms of theatre which reproduce exactly the most minute and truthful descriptions of life in all its external and visible aspects, reduces the possibilities of analysis (p. 171). Yet, he also says, there exists in every form of theatre "the need to analyze the text and to reveal this analysis to the audience" (Boal, 1979:175), in much the same way that the schools satisfy the function of analyzing textbooks, and other materials, and revealing this analysis to students. Boal is not necessarily negating earlier forms of theatre, instead he is more interested in bringing the audience and the actors into closer view. But as Boal adds, the theatre also serves "to focus the action according to a single, predetermined perspective; to show the point of view of the author or director—this need has always existed and has been met in diverse ways" (Boal, 1979:175). Boal calls his system, "Joker,"and it is a system of dramaturgy and staging which involves changing the structure of the text, cast, and production and which can be applied to any text (Boal, 1979:172, 176).

Boal's "Joker/cultural animateur," who functions as an intermediary, is likely to be a contemporary and perhaps even a neighbor of the spectator. Boal emphasizes this by moving the "Joker" away from all the other actors, in order to bring the "Joker" closer to the spectators (Boal, 1979:175). The object of the "Joker" is to lecture, comment, and/or explain, to advise the audience with respect to any changes made to the play, to undo scenes to emphasize or correct them, to interview the actors (in character) to reveal the true state of mind of a character (which cannot be done in the presence of other characters); the "Joker" can also perform any role in the play, represents the author, knows the play's objective, and acts as a master of ceremonies (Boal, 1979:175, 182). Boal's plays in which the "Joker" has a part are "fundamentally judgements, trials" (1979:176). But he adds that the empathic relationship between actor and spectator which is only one of the mechanisms of the dramatic ritual, can be put to good or bad use (Boal, 1979:181). In the "Joker" the empathic relationship is interrupted and/or followed point by point by exegesis (Boal, 1979:181), this system or permanent structure of performance can be used for any play. Spectators are allowed to ask questions as the "Joker" incites the audience in accordance with the themes being dealt with in the play (Boal, 1979:186).

In other words, Brecht, Boal, and those who came after, men and women of their times, reflective of a world in transition, changed the nature of the theatre and theatre-based educational tools, which in turn have helped to transform the possibilities for any given society and/or culture. Contemporary theatre has seen theatre defined as a philosophical inquiry to maintain society's structures, as a science for the individual, as a way to disrupt technological advances, and presently as an integrative medium for the arts, the sciences, technology, politics, economics, nature, human nature, the rational and the irrational, and so forth. Once again, popular theatre is being revitalized as a way of educating oneself for life and asks that the spectators become aware of the performance as an experiment in which they, rather than merely observing, must play an active role, and their objective is to quantify, that is, to appraise, assess, and critically evaluate the life revealed on any stage in conjunction with the reality of their own lives. Theatre's primary creation necessitates communication with an "other," and a kind of back to the basics' theatre occurs when it is used for its original purpose: problem-solving and analysis for group survival. This, in essence, is the theatre to which Augusto Boal has arrived.

A theatrical work is not neutral, just as theatre-based and educational tools for development are not neutral. Schools are not neutral, teaching and learning are not neutral acts, in effect, no pedagogy is neutral: the selection of materials, the organization of study, the relations of discourse, all are shaped with the goal of either changing people's values, skills, and knowledge bases to that of the dominant culture or with the goal of revitalizing and validating people's own culture (Kidd, 1985:18; Freire and Shor, 1987:13, 33).

Theatre forms which uphold colonial and/or the dominant culture's structures of thought and methods of theatrical creation can be likened to what Freire has called "cultural invasion" and/or the banking concept of education: participants are treated as *unconscious* receptacles or depositories for cultural symbols, with cultural values from "an alien cultural world" (Kidd, 1985:19). Instead of communicating, this form of theatre issues communiques and makes deposits which learners or participants passively receive, memorize, and repeat (Freire, 1970:58). In this fashion, the audience's and participant's critical thinking, creative power, self-esteem, and ability to think and act in ways that are adaptive to fast changing circumstance in a fast changing environment is minimized, repudiated, and/or annulled (Freire, 1970:60, 64).

The theatrical form and technique, like the pedagogical method, cannot be separated from the "content or purpose of the program, nor from the social and educational context in which it is used" (Kidd, 1985:19). This signifies whether the theatre program or formal learning process, or non-formal education and development, leads to empowerment and structural/relational kinds of transformation; in effect, whether it is used as a tool for domination/social control or as a tool for liberation/social change (Kidd, 1985:28; Boal, 1979:ix).

Although Boal has created an impressive amount of work, in fact, has broken through many significant barriers, he has chosen a literary style that is not easy to read, or to penetrate for many people; in fact, during a 1988 workshop hosted by Edmonton's Catalyst Theatre and by one of his well-trained cultural animateurs, Lib Spry (Ottawa), many of the participants expressed their inability (after reading Boal's book) to come to know exactly what he was trying to say. The consensus of the group, whose participants consisted of actors, directors, educators, and popular theatre and community workers, was that this material is difficult to understand, especially the first section of the book when he talks about the Aristotelian tradition. Also, the more practical second part of the book was considered difficult to clarify without the aid of other professionals, academics, intermediaries, or cultural animateurs and without the "visual," concrete, and/or practical stimulus of the workshop setting. A part of the problem might lie in the fact that Boal's book is a translation. Even so, he seems to have written in such a way as to exclude the very audience he should be addressing.

Although his motives remain unclear, Boal appears to be encouraging those persons who have a vested interest in the "theatre of the oppressed," that is, oppressed peoples themselves, to seek out his own trained animateurs. Unfortunately, the question is raised: Is Boal practicing a kind of control over knowledge?

This is not to say that theatre should not be brought to people as an aesthetic language in itself and to help stimulate literacy in the national language(s), as well as, for codifying reality for purposes of analysis, response, and change. Boal (1979) himself says theatre is a language "capable of being utilized by any person, with or without artistic talent" (p. 121). But maybe Boal should attempt to translate his ideas into the language of the common people (as the Romantics would say). One of *his* goals is to prepare the people for revolution (or transformation), that is, "to change the people" (Boal, 1979:122). By assuming such a role, questions are raised whether theatre is a reflection and form of action that is self-determined, by the people themselves, or imposed from without? Also, can theatre exert a creative influence back on society and culture, especially if it is being manipulated by a powerful knowledge broker over the people themselves? Ironically, Boal has written a book involving an element of "Theatre *FOR* the people" (my emphasis) rather than "Theatre *OF* the people": "made by actors, writers and directors who decide what the people should see" (Burns, 1988:59).

It is significant to this study that marginalized groups elsewhere, for instance, in Canada are beginning to articulate a sense of grievance (a grievance that, unfortunately applies to Boal) about being exploited by research professionals as a group and *excluded* from the research process, and they are beginning to demand that research "come back to one fundamental: the need for far greater self-determination" (Lange, 1987:3). If global links are being made through grassroots or horizontal communication, then what is true here may be seen to be true elsewhere: Social groups "want and need control of sufficient research resources to develop...researchers and conduct studies on their own" (Lange, 1987:3). Lange (1987) goes on to say,

> For social groups...all of this ultimately depends on control of adequate financial resources and, although it is intangible, it is necessary to have what may be called "legitimacy," that is, respect and acknowledgement for one's way of understanding the world....[I]t remains the case that the *structure of research resources* has not changed. (p. 3)

Accordingly, this research structure too is part of the larger colonial structure in which oppressed people still find themselves.

As a Brazilian himself, Boal is not a non-native in the cultural sense of his dealing with Brazilian people. But in a societal sense, his stated goal *was* to provide the people with a forum for presenting *their* views, and in fact, his "forum theatre" *is* just such an enterprise, along with his other techniques, "Image, Newspaper, Photography, and Invisible Theatre." In this sense Boal is also addressing "Theatre WITH the people" (my emphasis):

> ...made by actors, writers, directors, with direct input and participation from the community. Community decides theme, issue, purpose of drama. The resources of the theatre artists are utilised. The work is co-operative, reciprocal. (Burns, 1988:59):

and "Theatre *BY* the people" (my emphasis):

> ...which is used as a process, a tool for development and analysis by the community or group. Theatre provides a way of seeing, a way of addressing options for action. Theatre is a means of organisation and mobilisation for action. (Burns, 1988:59)

Unfortunately, Boal may not be dealing with "Theatre *OF* the people." In order to do so, he must begin to address the fact that these same communities have been so totally excluded from the production of "knowledge" that they may not as yet have an awareness of this general problem, and this neglect "reflects a much greater depth of colonialism" (Lange, 1987:3). Also, Boal and others who are in the privileged place of being "legitimate" knowledge power brokers can improve the situation by beginning to use the people's own language or by using a less abstract and less technically complex form so that other diverse social groups can understand (in their own languages), and use his model for their own purposes without needing intermediaries.[1] As noted before, it is unclear whether Boal is practicing a form of control over knowledge which is just as colonial or paternalistic as that which is commonly practiced in academic circles. Obviously, there is room for more translations of his techniques in authentic, people's languages, in their way of understanding, in order to transcend the structural/power barrier of *who owns what knowledge* . If his *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1979) is truly what it says it is, then it will begin to be freely used and adapted by the people themselves, and the people themselves will be active participants and will have the loudest voice.

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[1] Excellent examples of texts created for people without much formal education, where the language used is "simple" but "not childish," are David Werner's *Where There Is No Doctor* (1977) and *Helping Health Workers Learn* (1982). The English editions are written in fairly basic English, and the books have also been translated into such languages as Aymara, Bengali, Creole, Guajivo, Guarani, Hiligaynon, Ibata, Khmer, Quechua, Thai, Tzotzil, or other languages, making it accessible to those persons living in poor countries. As well, the contributions to *Where There Is No Doctor* provided by a number of physicians and medical specialists was made available on a volunteer basis, and this aids in the book's overall low cost for those living in poor countries and for those working with health projects or programs in poor communities of rich countries. Werner explains that these books were first written in Spanish so that the farm people in the mountains of Mexico, that is, the villagers themselves, would be able to run a health care network. The original *Donde No Hay Doctor* is now being used throughout Latin America as well as in translation

The other problem is that Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" model is purported to be exclusively for the oppressed, for even though Boal agrees that some oppressors are oppressed themselves (Quiles and Schuttler, 1983:14), it is unlikely whether he would extend this to include all, the oppressed and the oppressors. This is problematic in that it is only half the equation in the way that the actors need the spectators for their social institution, the theatre, to function. It also serves to place a very impenetrable barrier between the oppressed and the oppressor which may be translated to say, once you become an oppressor you need not analyze life as you live it anymore, that is for the oppressed alone.

All these experiments of a people's theater, whether a part of a literacy program or a consciousness raising forum, "have the same objective—the liberation of the spectator," and the liberation of the participant's understanding on whom the theatre and society has helped to impose finished visions of the world. It is significant for this study that the "spectators in the people's theatre...cannot go on being the passive victims of those images" (Boal, 1979:155).

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throughout the world. His contention is that in over-developed as well as in under-developed countries there is a crisis in existing health care systems resulting in too much knowledge and resources being in the hands of too few. His solution is to provide for a more generous sharing of knowledge of what is best in both traditional and modern ways. He also believes that "to be fully useful, this book should be adapted by persons familiar with the health needs, customs, special ways of healing, and local language of specific areas" (Werner, 1977:n.p.).

As Freire (1970) says, "The oppressed must confront reality critically, simultaneously objectifying and acting upon that reality" (p. 37). One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program, of which the theatre plays a part, "which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people" (Freire, 1970:84).

There is more to be considered. As Freire says, educators and community workers (and this includes popular theatre workers) "cannot treat the oppressed as mere activists to be denied the opportunity of reflection and allowed merely the illusion of acting, whereas in fact they would continue to be manipulated—and in this case by the *presumed foes* of manipulation [my emphasis]" (1970:120). Although theatre is best known in its political context as a tool for domination or for liberation, unequal treatment of marginalized groups is a part of a world-wide historical legacy: there are no quick fixes for improving societal relations and/or achieving equality.

Ruth Smillie, artistic director of Catalyst Theatre (Edmonton), has also been saying the same things about going into schools and communities to use theatre for development work: "Requests to do one-shot, forty minute, free-for-all drama workshops with a group…I have never met before and will likely never meet again have come to epitomize for me the ignorance of educators" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:2). The ignorance of educators is disheartening to all who believe "that the arts, particularly drama and theatre, can be a humanizing force in a world that provides all too many examples of inhumanity" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:2). Using theatre for development work in schools must be well-defined for not only can it be used to raise people's consciousness, it does little more than that without additional support systems being in place in and outside the school. It would be very disturbing if this educational tool was used to raise the consciousness of even one child who was then left to deal *alone* with his or her own *now* acute awareness of their powerlessness. Using theatre-based educational tools with young children is not the same as working with adults who may or may not be able to do something about their situation once they can see it and analyze it. Catalyst Theatre, which tours many of its shows through the schools of Alberta, especially its recent "Feeling Yes, Feeling No" play about touching which is good and that which is bad, is done in such a way that extends the usual responsibilities of a theatre company. Often there are disclosures after a performance, and Smillie (1988) says that the troupe makes sure to bring these children to the attention of helping services in the school, and to contact the school post-production to see what has happened. Once again, it is significant to this study to point out that we are talking about the rational utilization of human resources: helping an individual to see, comforting the person, listening to them, and bringing him or her together with other helping services to attain the best resolution of the conflict.

In addition to the ignorance of educators, there is a complicity in the relationship between those in power and those in a marginalized position. If it be so that an individual must know the true terms of his or her options in order to be held accountable, as well as, in order to be able to make appropriate choices, and both Freire and Boal have said that it is no good to present others with "finished" prescriptions for changing behavior, then there is a need for development work on both sides of the fence. Any educator interested in initiating collective theatre workshops must be prepared to not only help the people "work through their fear of being exposed through the sharing and performance of their stories," but to spend time and develop strategies to educate those in positions of power (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:3). Giving a voice to the experiences of people who have been historically perceived as once voiceless and powerless "is only one part of a much larger process concerned with educating the community and developing support systems" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:3-4). These support systems are made up of people from both sides of the fence, and education is necessary for all cultural groups and their support systems.

Theatre's possibilities for mediation between cultures, and between societies, is yet to be fully understood. There is still much fear and resistance to using theatre as a tool for development for those in power. As Spry said, when she was asked about the possibilities of Boal's theatre of the oppressed techniques being used in this way, "Why? To increase the power of the oppressors?"(1988).

Each time theatre is used and voices are heard, "the silence that protects us all in our complacency and ignorance is broken" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:5). In order to reveal the superstructure, it is essential to transcend the barriers between oppressed and oppressor: "the rituals which *reify* all human relationships, and the masks of behavior that those rituals impose on each person according to the roles he[/she] plays in society and the rituals he[/she] must perform" (Boal, 1979:154).

Ultimately, each sector in society—schools, government(s), businesses, the media and others, like theatre—will have to develop their own strategies and do some internal restructuring to eliminate discrimination between valuable and valued others, to encourage communication and recognition of all the cultural knowledge available in any given society or cultural group, and to satisfy the need for the rational utilization of all human resources, and it must include the following components:

> -**Research.** Dismantling discrimination requires information on all aspects of the institution in question….
> -**Developing policies.** Every organization is governed by policies, overt and unwritten, that influence its priorities, programs and practices….equity policy must involve every constituency within the organization.
> -**Goals, targets and timetables.** Setting goals and timetables is widely accepted in most organizations and businesses. Without clear objectives there is no way to measure success. Setting goals should not be confused with imposing quotas.
> -**Monitoring and evaluation.** Every policy requires a process to assess its effectiveness. Ultimately, a policy is measured by its results. The Toronto Board of Education recently undertook a system-wide review of its race-relations policy and identified some of the organizational barriers to change.
> -**Training.** As a key instrument for change, training must relate to the occupational needs of those being trained. Few effective training models appear to exist….
> -**Allocation of Resources.** None of the components can be put into place without the necessary financial and human resources [my emphasis]. (Henry and Tator, 1989:A7)

There can be do doubt that using theatre as a tool for development cannot be achieved merely through the articulation of finely worded policies.

Finally, there is also, according to Spry (1988), much voiced resistance to the use of the term "oppressed," which is also echoed by other theatre and community workers and more importantly, by the signified themselves. The term "oppressed" seems to imply "victim," is seen as derogatory and is prone to stereotyping; it also downplays the complicit relationship between oppressed and oppressor. Spry (1988) herself has coined an intriguing signifier: "Cops in Your Head/Prisons Outside." Whatever term is used, it must be broad enough to include this so-called "oppressed" person's response to being incorrectly labelled: "THE WOMAN whose father raped her when she was 9 calls herself an incest survivor. "I never use the word 'victim' she says, with an edge to her voice. 'I'm not a victim'" (Callwood, 1989:A2).

Perhaps the best term would be "Theatre of Survivors": "My father, an enlightened spirit, believed in man. My grandfather, a fervent Hasid, believed in God. The one taught me to speak, the other to sing. They loved stories. And when I tell mine, I hear their voices. Whispering from beyond the silent storm, they are what links the survivor to their memory" (Wiesel, as quoted in Smillie and Murphy, 1986:1).

Trying to get at the essential nature of theatre does not mean finding a universal quality in theatre for purposes of evaluation, judgement, demarcating excellence, and so forth. Theatre is a social institution which must be viewed in a culturally-relative context and this is why Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" model is so important. This model has led Boal, and so many others, to the understanding that,

> Art is language which needs two interlocuters because there is no universality of aesthetic values. What the people of Tibet do is not the same as what the people of Rio de Janeiro do. The quality and the art of each is not universal. You have the same aesthetic values in only one culture. Culture is production done inside people. (Boal, as quoted in Quiles and Schuttler, 1983:21)

Theatre is best used as a tool for putting the imagination into practice or *praxis*. And a critical rule of sociology, or of studying any group of people to whom changes are happening very fast, is that "the one thing that never is lost in a critical situation is the imagination" (Carlos Torres, personal communication, March 7, 1990).

Conclusion

Theatre's weapon is its ability to engage the imagination both artistically and in terms of its impact on the audience. Traditional and deeply-rooted theatrical conventions, values, rules, and formulas are useful in certain circumstances. In and of themselves, these theatrical conventions are neither good nor bad. However, theatre is a political weapon as in certain times when society is stabilizing it serves to immobilize the masses (spectators), to maintain the status quo, and to uphold a particular social order. When society is in transition, and the social and theatrical need is to change or disrupt the status quo or to reveal how things really are, and in essence, to reveal the social disruption and dissatisfaction that exists, theatre which breaks these long-held conventions is a most powerful agent for inciting the spectator to act. Theatre can also be used to keep inviolate or intact the distinction of societies and cultures as separate entities, or it may be used to erase the physical, intellectual, and imaginative barriers between cultures and societies Theatre is very effective when it asks those who are seldom asked to carry the main thrust of any social action to play the part of the hero, or heroine, in their own way, to break the bonds of those strictly male, Western, or any other exclusive domains.

CHAPTER THREE
CHANGES IN CULTURAL AND STRUCTURAL/POWER RELATIONSHIPS IN A COMPLEX AND FAST-CHANGING WORLD

> A world that is both just and unjust and is equally justified in both. You call that a world! (Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy and the Genealogy of Morals*, 1956)

> The global village is very restless.... (Geraldine Kenney-Wallace, chairman of the Science Council of Canada, as quoted in Gooderham, 1989:D2)

> Economists are so clueless about how the world works that something that gives profits for 6 or 7 years can be considered a wonderful triumph even if it leads to total disaster after. One of the things we have to do is try and close our schools of economics and start doing a new kind of ecological economics.... (Paul Ehrlich, Professor of Biology at Stanford University on *The Nature of Things*, as quoted in Cuff, 1989b:C4)

> I keep telling my students to have courage to have ideas and to be forward-looking. I put it to them; I say, "The Utopians of today are the realists of tomorrow, and the realists today are dead tomorrow." (Elisabeth Mann Borgese, as quoted in Gooderham, 1990:D1)

In the economic and political realm, more and more outside forces are exerting pressure which has far-reaching implications for businesses, governments, and societies world-wide. In the midst of all this fast-paced change is a growing need for a lot of internal work to be done not only in societies, businesses, and governments, but also in the cultural realm. This work needs to address the increasing pervasiveness of once marginalized groups clamoring for their rights, the sheer pace of change in technology, lifestyles, and social values, the accelerating shift to an urban society, the rise of women in the workforce, the presence of better-educated, sophisticated, and more demanding employees, the social realities of families, the desire for legislation for human rights, consumer rights, animal rights, improved quality of work life, and a safer environment, the division of the world into distinct trading blocs, the rearrangement of the world economic order in favor of the Pacific Rim, and so forth. Many of these concerns will demand international co-operation.

"There have to be some very far-reaching changes in the international system, otherwise we can just go to hell," says Elisabeth Mann Borgese who has been called everything from "protector of peace in the oceans and advocate of a new international order" to "daughter of the Enlightenment" because she has" embraced the enlightened 'world view' of art, philosophy and politics, which characterized the eighteenth-century European intellectual movement" (as quoted in Gooderham, 1990:D1). Her interests, which range from marine technology to feminism, may appear divergent, but they have the same root: "It is a philosophy of continuity, of communality, of looking at the individual as part of society and looking at the human species as part of a bigger society—nature" (as quoted in Gooderham, 1990:D8). Borgese moved to Canada in 1978 for a one-year fellowship at Dalhousie University, Halifax, and "was invited to stay as a political science professor, continuing to teach courses on politics of the sea and world economic order" (Gooderham, 1990:D8). However, as she likes to say, "I was so worried that students [would] know a lot more than I did. I had never studied political science, really, I studied music" (Gooderham, 1990:D8). Yet her arts background, coupled with her experience *and* scholarship in the area of the sciences makes her what was once, surely, thought of as impossible, the new Renaissance woman, an "expert on oceanography and the Law of the Sea, author, playwright, teacher, pianist and animal rights advocate" (Gooderham, 1990:D1). Borgese, now a Canadian citizen, has been granted the Order of Canada, and in 1989, she was re-appointed for another three-year term as chairman of the International Centre for Ocean Development, a Canadian crown corporation "which works with Third World countries to develop ocean resources" (Gooderham, 1990:D8). International co-operation, which may seem a far-fetched dream to others, is seen as a very real possibility to Borgese, who

> does not despair at the slow pace of change in ocean negotiations, including the fact that more than 100 countries who were signatories to the Law of the Sea, including Canada, have not ratified it. She said she does not think the idea of international co-operation proposed by her father

> [German writer and Nobel laureate Thomas Mann] and husband [Italian author, political scientist and humanist, Giuseppe Antonio Borgese] is a Utopian dream but an inevitability. (Gooderham, 1990:D1, D8)

What has emerged is that one of the greatest challenges facing us today is managing the dynamics of change itself (Aird and Westcott, 1989). Even though, "the pundits warned throughout the 1980s that the greatest challenge facing the corporate world was managing change. The major worry of the 1990s may well be not having anything to manage" (Enchin, 1990:B1).

It seems that the tide is turning: 1) "The sixties brought the first massive disillusionment with science and technology, the fear of nuclear proliferation, the first public reaction to deterioration of the environment, and alienation" (Gooderham, 1989:D2); and 2) "During the 1970s, *the good times* gradually began to sour. Oil shocks, interest rate fluctuations and serious inflation all made life more uncertain and threatening [my emphasis]" (Aird and Westcott, 1989:44). Along with the growing feeling that we are less in control of the environment due to global pollution, the belief in our ability to safeguard our environment is also decreasing. It would also seem that business' and government's institutional means for interacting with or controlling the ecosystem have broken down, if they ever existed.

It is not hard for anyone to forecast the planet's souring environment, and perhaps dissolution, when we now know that even the North and the health of northerners "has been put at risk by pollution from chemicals used primarily in agriculture and industry" (Fisher, 1988:A1). The fact that it took federally funded research four years to recognize that there are "dozens of toxic substances in every part of the Arctic food chain, from bottom-feeding sea organisms to seals, polar bears and...mother's milk" and to express the following unimaginative and limited solution is ludicrous at best:

> "The Inuit might have to to on a diet of chicken and beef," said Dennis Gregor of Environment Canada's water quality branch in Regina. He is in charge of a special study of toxic substances found in Arctic snow.

> "That would require a huge diet and cultural change. It would not be good for them," Mr. Gregor said. (as quoted in Fisher, 1988:A1)

Convinced of the inevitability of change, more and more grassroots organizations, especially Native organizations and women's groups, are emerging from a long cultural and societal history of conflict avoidance. In *The Dance of Anger* (1985), Harrier Lerner says that women in particular have been discouraged from taking responsibility for solving problems, determining choices, and taking control of the quality and direction of their own lives: "Unlike our male heroes, who fight and even die for what they believe in, women may be condemned for waging a bloodless and humane revolution for their own rights" (p. 2). The ensuing emotions of guilt and self-blame which are caused by being placed in a marginalized position is not just the problem of women, it is a human problem, resulting from a certain role played in power/structural relationships. For too long, women and others who have been marginalized "have been encouraged *not* to question but to accept other-defined notions" of their "true nature," their "appropriate place," their "responsibilities," and their "role(s)," and so forth (Lerner, 1985:106). For those who have been marginalized in the past, the rules and roles of families and societies make it difficult for these persons to define themselves apart from the wishes and expectations of others, something which is "especially difficult for women" (Lerner, 1985:113). The negative reactions caused in others when marginalized persons or groups "begin to pay primary attention to the quality and direction" *of their own lives* may certainly invite them (and others) "to become anxious and guilty" (Lerner, 1985:113-114).

But why are angry, marginalized persons and cultures so threatening to others? As Lerner says, "If we are guilty, depressed, or self-doubting, we stay in place. We do not take action except against our own selves and we are unlikely to be agents of personal and social change" (1985:3). In contrast, angry persons may change and challenge the lives of all of us, for instance, "as witnessed by the past decade of feminism" (Lerner, 1985:3). Thus, "change is an anxiety-arousing and difficult business for everyone," including those who are actively pushing for it; and so, we "learn to fear our own an anger, not only because it brings about the disapproval of others, but also because it signals the necessity for change" (Lerner, 1985:3). Getting angry and taking action may be more possible for some than for others. As Lerner (1985) points out,

> Anger is a signal, and one worth listening to. Our anger may be a message that we are being hurt, that our rights are being violated, that our needs or wants are not being adequately met, or simply that something is not right. Our anger may tell us that we are not addressing an important emotional issue in our lives, or that too much of our self is being compromised in a relationship. Our anger may be a signal that we are doing more and giving more than we can comfortably do or give. Or our anger may warn us that others are doing too much for us, at the expense of our own competence and growth. (p. 1)

If getting angry is a signal or a warning of the need for change, it is also a confusing and frightening emotion that requires a medium for effectively channelling it into a communicative response and transformative action.

Realizing a desire to survive in community, in effect, to rediscover their (cultural) identity, Native groups are exerting a new, growing assertiveness in valuing and continuing their way of life and in protecting their offspring from living under the same conditions they had known. The recent proliferation and federation of Native or indigenous people's organizations show their recognition for the need to have more political and economic power and a desire for recognition of their cultural knowledge.

There is also increasingly a shared view among Natives and non-Natives that indicts the white man's culture, its patriarchal predominance, and "the devastation resulting from its self-righteous obsession with obliterating minority cultures" (Cuff, 1989a:A12).

By observing phenomena in relationship to the other elements of the ecosystem (a traditional world-view), northern indigenous people (for instance, the Aleuts) continue to adapt to the ecosystem rather than trying to control the direction of its change (for example, Schulz, "The Aleuts' Sense of Humor: Imposing Silence on Their Emotions and

Calling Into Play Nothing But Their Intelligence," 1988). To these same Native and northern indigenous groups, many jobs seem ephemeral, and commitment to industrial society is partial. These groups recognize and are attempting to make public that along with control and ownership of the land goes a responsibility to preserve and protect it and the shared community of people living on it.

As Schafer (1982) points out, presently our concern over the environment has the potential to unite us or divide us, and this concern is due in part

> from severe world population pressures—pressures which make us acutely aware of resource shortages. And in part, it derives from a universal desire to make environments happier, healthier, and more beautiful places in which to grow and develop as human beings. (p. 5)

Obviously, we can learn from other cultures (groups) or previously marginalized individuals in societies. As the old saying goes, "we teach what we most need to learn" (as quoted in Lerner, 1985:99); that is, those persons in the past who may have been predominantly in a position of influence may now have the most to learn.

Jon Grant, president of Quaker Oats Co. of Canada Ltd., in a speech delivered at the Conference Board of Canada's business outlook meeting, began

> by describing a recent trip to Temagami, where protesters have been trying to halt logging of the last consequential stands of red and white pine in Ontario:
>
> "The quiet of the Temagami forest was like that of a cathedral. The ecological perfection was breathtaking!
>
> "Ancient trees rotting on the forest floor provide soil and nutrients for towering, mature trees 200 or 300 years old. These in turn shelter saplings as they grow, replacing dying pines in a never-ending cycle of rejuvenation.
>
> "Standing amid such natural beauty, I recalled the wood panelling in board rooms across this country, and I wondered if my children, or their children, would ever see a natural forest." (as quoted in Valpy, 1989:A8)

Mr. Grant stated that recent studies have proved that this particular region is *not* "economically sustainable in this generation, or the next, yet we continue to denude the land of trees with the aid of government subsidies to lumber mills and without the technology to regenerate the original forest" (as quoted in Valpy, 1989:A8). Mr. Grant "excoriated wealthy business and government for making woefully inadequate use of resources and technology they have to curb environmental damage, waste and pollution" (Valpy, 1989:A8). By saying this, Mr. Grant is realizing the same kinds of concerns expressed for generations by North America's Native and northern indigenous population who have been excluded from or denied positions of influence.

This grassroots' feeling is reflected in today's business, especially with respect to the Canadian homefront, albeit through a slightly different perspective; that is, along with the decreasing ability of our leading companies to influence their environment and the people living in it, businesses and governments "feel less in control of their world" (Aird and Westcott, 1989:43). According to Paul Durbin, a philosophy professor and director of the Centre for Science and Culture at the University of Delaware (as quoted in Gooderham, 1989:D2), "Technology is becoming a threat to what it means to be human," and he warns that further developments in this field "such as artificial intelligence and bio-engineering have created a...syndrome in which individuals feel they have lost control." Another speaker, Alexander King, president of the Club of Rome (of which Ms. Borgese is the founding and the only woman member), put forward that "we are being controlled by technology instead of being in control of technology" (Gooderham, 1989:D2). Durbin and King were both speaking to an international conference in Guelph, Ontario, where it was noted that American sociologists' analysis of U.S. annual polls reveals "a steady decline in trust in institutions involving the law, government and medicine, especially among the educated and the middle class—indicating a malaise, an uncertainty about their ability to direct their lives" (Gooderham, 1989:D2). Dr. Durbin concludes that "rather than being victims of technology, people in developed as well as developing countries should be empowered to have a say in its future path" (Gooderham, 1989:D2).

In *Gender and Science*, Evelyn Fox Keller (1985) suggests that "standard scientific practice has tended to attract practitioners for whom an objectivist ideology, 'the promise of a cool and objective remove from the object of study,' provides emotional comfort" (as quoted in Code, 1988:81). And by promising "power and control over nature it selects individuals for whom these are worthwhile goals." Code explains further that one can also

> draw a distinction between what scientific...results enable human beings to *understand*, both about themselves and the world, and about science and knowledge and their place in human lives—and what they enable "man" to *do*, by virtue of progress in scientific techniques. Writing of technology, Ursula Franklin [in her 1985, *Will Women Change Technology or Will Technology Change Women?*] wisely cautions that it is "as important to know what cannot be done any more because a certain technology is put in place as what the technology actually achieves." Technology, she says...has "little use for experience." (as quoted in Code, 1988:82)

But Elisabeth Mann Borgese is a very good example of an artist-scientist, "a truly cosmopolitan figure," who operates on a world scale, and who has "been influential in keeping people's eyes on long-range objectives that will affect the development of order and compassion in international affairs" (Gooderham, 1990:D8). She is a scientist whose life has been steeped in the arts, and who is "a citizen of the world," "a wonderful paradox of opposites," and who is not afraid to reject the cool and objective remove from the objects one studies (Gooderham, 1990:D1, D8). For instance,

> She eats "no dead animals," including fish, and complains that animals bred for food are kept in "barbaric" conditions. She is lobbying for legislation in North American and Europe to protect farm animal rights. "We are carnivores and we slaughter them, bad enough, but to draw the conclusion from that that because we have a right to kill them we have a right to torment them through their short life, no. That is not necessary. (Gooderham, 1990:D8)

Although Borgese's ideas along this line are likely to be viewed as highly controversial, she has using compassion and her imaginative abilities worked with animals in such a way that she has in fact redefined what is known about what they can learn. Presently, she lives in Sambro Head, Nova Scotia with her six English setter dogs, "whom she has taught skills from mathematics to playing Ode to Joy on the piano" (Gooderham, 1990:D1). These experiments in animal communications have evolved from her earlier work with animals in Italy, where the "Olivetti company designed a special electric typewriter for her dog Arlecchino," and which became the subject of a book called *The Language Barrier* (1968) (Gooderham, 1990:D1). Borgese is also re-evaluating the group work begun by her husband, herself, and a group of scholars at the University of Chicago, called the "Committee to Frame a World Constitution," and she is shifting her focus to include global issues, such as, "development and the environment, disarmament and human rights" (Gooderham, 1990:D1). She

> considers the Law of the Sea, its principles of regional co-operation, development of technology and balancing of environment and economy, a "rehearsal for world order." She is now working on proposals to reform institutions that place barriers between nations and are obsolete. (Gooderham, 1990:D1)

In the past, "there was a piecemeal quality" about technological and other developments (Schafer, 1982:20); however, "more and more, these developments are coalescing," and they

> are part and parcel of the universal movement which is underway to turn our environments into works of art. For it is only when this happens that it will be possible to claim that our natural and man-made environments have become humane environments, capable of providing inspiration, re-creation and rejuvenation for all. (Schafer, 1982:20)

It would seem that along with recognition of the need to protect the environment is the recognition that the grassroots' view, and the view of women, and of an artist-scientist, like Elisabeth Mann Borgese is significant and/or legitimate and, perhaps, that it always was. It is this change in the economic and political realm which may herald, ultimately, the recognition of the experience and cultural knowledge of previously marginalized groups of individuals. For as Borgese has pointed out, she only really "began writing short stories, books and even plays and operas after the death of her father in 1955" (Gooderham, 1990:D1). It becomes clear as to why she waited until that time when she explains one of her earlier works, *The Ascent of Woman* (1963), which dealt with feminism, was "a topic with which she had wrestled throughout her early life because of the chauvinist position of her parents that women could not hold jobs as teachers or professionals" (Gooderham, 1990:D1).

It is a time for recognition of the collective voices from the once voiceless and powerless members of this planet. It is a time to pick and choose from the various and complementary sources of knowledge about survival, continuity, and adaptation to the ecosystem, and it looks like businesses and government(s) are beginning to respond. In essence, "the recipe for survival in the 1990s is...flatten the hierarchy, decentralize authority, find cost advantages through technology," and if possible, to "maintain a high level of employee training" (Enchin, 1990:B4) by increasing, improving, and making more appropriate our educational institutions. It appears that today it is crucial to improve education and our delivery of it, to improve our institutions, and to do the internal work necessary to equalize opportunity and resources and to come up with future alternatives.

Elaine Todres, Ontario deputy minister in charge of human resources, has also observed a phenomena which is that "sexism runs deeper than greed" (as quoted in Coutts, 1989:D1). Along with Todres, Lewis Humphreys, an associate of Hubbard and Revo-Cohen Canada, states that in pay equity negotiations employers across Canada are not "objecting to the cost of pay equity, but to the principle" (as quoted in Coutts, 1989:D1). "The major impasse we encounter," says Humphreys, "is that everybody hangs on to their traditional values....People just don't want to deal with a new perspective" (as quoted in Coutts, 1989:D1). However, Todres says she is optimistic "because employers are beginning to understand how the work women do is undervalued," and she predicts that "there will be an entirely different view of women in the workplace" (as quoted in Coutts, 1989:D1). Pat Armstrong, chairman of the sociology department at York University in

Toronto, says that the dominant, traditional views of the past led to low value being placed on women's jobs and that this can also cause problems in evaluating them (Coutts, 1989:D8). Armstrong and Humphreys agree that women's skills, for instance, in the caring professions, are "most likely to be taken for granted, and thus undervalued" (Coutts, 1989:D8). These traditional values also limit the training for female job classes; for instance,

> a woman who wants to be a secretary must have the required skills when she applies, but in many male job classes such as pipefitting there is an elaborate system of training and apprenticeship available on the job. And...there is a tendency to regard experience accumulated by women in volunteer work as irrelevant, basing hiring strictly on formal education and job experience, measures that often give men an advantage. (Coutts, 1989:D8)

There is an increasing need to manage change through consensus, to see change as positive, exciting, and necessary, to respond to alternative ways of thinking and interacting, and to get grassroots' organizations and those at the lower rungs of society's hierarchical ladder involved in finding solutions those at the top have failed to find. There is also a conscious effort to break down the bureaucratic procedures and narrowly defined controls that have inhibited the examination and acceptance of alternative and innovative ideas (Aird and Westcott, 1989:46,48). The knowledge and experience of the workers is now considered by those at the top to be economically and environmentally sound (Aird and Westcott, 1989:48). Outsiders, or those at the top with no experience or knowledge of the grassroots, who operate from a position of ignorance, are seen as a part of the traditional, patriarchal, and autocratic way to run a business or government, and these same people or organizations are now being challenged. The concern for the future survival of the planet may mean a more "rational utilization" (see Penfield, 1989:27) of human resources in every sector of society.

At an "Optima" business seminar entitled "On Change: Organizations and Wellness,"[1] Diane Abbey-Livingston spoke about this growing need to manage change:

> In summary, change is similar to a hurricane—we experience a cessation of normalcy, increase our concern for personal safety, and experience structural breakdown. In keeping with ancient folk wisdom, however, we must learn to respect the wind, tape up the windows and ride out the storm. (p. 4)

Professor Ramesh Mishra, who teaches social work at York University, and who is writing a book about welfare systems in different countries, also told a Toronto conference of social workers, administrators, and academics that the choice Canadians face in the free-trade era is "whether to go for private affluence and eventually public squalor or really to try to maintain a balance and let all sides move forward," (as quoted in Fine, 1989b:A10). He also said that "quality of life as a whole is becoming a more important consideration for Canadians, who 'see that you can be absolutely stuffed with useless goods. How much can you go on and on consuming?'" (as quoted in Fine, 1989b:A10).

Ray Hnatyshyn, Canada's newly appointed governor-general, has said that "Canada could become the first country in the world to find a way to continue economic progress without harming the environment" (as quoted in "Action on environment urged," 1989:A9). He was speaking to a conference called "Environmental Concerns in the 1990s," where he said that "sustainable development heads the new agenda in Canada" and that "Canadians expect action from governments…but not from governments alone. They expect…all parts of the private sector to work co-operatively to devise solutions to environmental problems" (as quoted in "Action on environment urged," 1989:A9).

How do you do this? As Conger (1989) points out, change for human beings is often linked to crisis:

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[1] This seminar was held in Toronto on June 23, 1989, for those members of the Local OO2 Council involved in occupational health and safety. A copy of the unpublished proceedings was made available.

> Human beings often choose to ignore major problems until they reach a stage of crisis. Why? Well, to resolve a major problem means changing the way we act or live. It more often means having to give up something....It may also mean having to work harder and smarter....
>
> What this means is that crisis is the most powerful means of motivating human societies into action....
>
> We do not act until we feel the consequences of our actions. (p. B2)

One way to do this is to use "the arts as barometers to measure the aesthetic state of human environments" (Schafer, 1982:17-18). For "the arts have an important role to play with respect to the natural environment," and "they have an even more important role to play with regard to the man-made environment" (Schafer, 1982:16). As Schafer (1982) points out, "The arts make few demands on the natural environment and nature's scarce resources"; in fact, "in a world conscious of severe resource shortages, as labour-intensive activities, the arts offer an ideal model for resource conservation" (p. 16). Likewise, "the arts complement rather than compete with the natural environment": it was Rabindranath Tagore, who realized that "the artist is the lover of Nature; therefore he is her slave and her master" (as quoted in Schafer, 1982:16). When Canada's newly appointed governor-general says that Canada could become the first country in the world to find a way to continue economic progress without harming the environment, he may or may not have had Borgese and other Canadians in mind. For instance, Robert Schemenauer, a cloud physicist with Environment Canada in Toronto, and colleagues at two Chilean universities have developed a program for milking clouds to get water for arid land (Strauss, 1989:A1, A2): "It's a program that captures the imagination and makes people feel good." Strauss reports that when the wind-blown clouds stream through the mesh nylon nets "tiny water droplets, about a tenth the width of a human hair, are strained out," and these nets "collect, drip down and daily leave an average of 10,000 litres of desert gold—drinkable water" (1989:A2). And while "researchers in other places, most notably Hawaii and San Francisco, have demonstrated that the principle of fog milking is sound, the Canadian-Chilean cloud nets are the first large-scale demonstration project" (Strauss, 1989:A2). This development has global repercussions for in places in the world where habitation is difficult, "hamstrung by aridity," for example, Peru and Oman on the Arabian Peninsula, and virtually anywhere with further imaginative modifications because "even if they do not provide drinking water, the cloud catchers may provide an avenue to foster another vital...project—reforestation" (Strauss, 1989:A2). This too has been evidenced in the Canadian-Chilean project: "A small eucalyptus forest in Chile was started with water from the Chungungo nets. Once the trees are about two metres tall, fogs naturally deposit enough moisture to keep them growing without irrigation" (Strauss, 1989:A2).[2] What is significant is that imaginative collaborations between developed and under-developed regions of the world are not only possible, but they may solve problems more imaginatively when "concrete measures are being introduced to integrate the arts more effectively into environmental planning" (Schafer, 1982:19): Thus, once again, consecrating the union between human beings and nature and making the separation of artistry from science obsolete.

Success in the new environment will require a clear vision, a sense of direction, and an effective leadership that is less hierarchical, less culturally invasive, less environmentally threatening, more social justice oriented, that is, has an understanding of the social consequences of actions. It must be understood that global survival can no longer be guaranteed through the practice of rugged/extreme individualism and be dependent upon the predominance of any one group or culture. Success in the global realm depends upon increasing communication and arbitration between groups (cultures) and between societies and upon global members who are able and willing to adapt to continuing change. But, as Apple (1979) points out, "the overemphasis on the individual in our educational, emotional, and social lives is ideally suited to both maintain a rather manipulative ethic of consumption and further the withering of political and economic sensitivity" (p. 10). Apple says, with important implications for researchers, intellectuals, educators, and knowledge power brokers,

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[2] See also Penfield's (1989) article, "African Deliverance: Out of a Dying Forest Comes A Controversial Game Ranch," where she talks about another Canadian, Clark Lungren, and his work in Upper Volta to "bring life back to the deserted tract of land near the border of Ghana" (p. 27). Penfield says, "At first, no one wanted anything to do with a young Canadian who preached 'rational utilization' of wildlife at a time when national-park-style protection was the norm (although a drain on the economies of developing countries)" (pp. 27-28). Lungren's concept which has gained acceptance, though the issue is still a contentious one, is that by improving habitat and increasing wildlife protection, eventually the wildlife could be built up and as they are "far more resistant to drought than domesticated animals," they can become "a renewable resource that could...be harvested, bringing both food and economic self-sufficiency to the region" (p. 27).

> Our concern for the abstract individual in our social, economic, and educational life is exactly that—it is merely an abstraction. It does not situate the life of the individual (and ourselves as educators), as an economic and social being, back into the unequal structural relations that produced the comfort the individual enjoys....The latest effects of both absolutizing the individual and defining our role as neutral technicians in the service of amelioration, therefore, makes it nearly impossible for educators and others to develop a potent analysis of widespread social and economic injustice. (1979:10)

The macro steps will occur in the political and economic sphere. The micro changes in significant relationships are already occurring. When we change our relationships with those we perceive as "others," we create a new relationship, and we create the possibilities for a new political and economic reality. Although there are "multiple ways of perceiving the same situation," it does not necessarily follow that "conflicting wants and different perceptions of the world...mean that one party is 'right' and the other is 'wrong'" (Lerner, 1985:110). In fact, "one of the hallmarks of emotional maturity is to recognize the validity of multiple realities and to understand that people think, feel, and react differently" (Lerner, 1985:39). "If, however, our goal is to break a pattern in an important relationship and/or to develop a stronger sense of self that we can bring to all our relationships" (Lerner, 1985:90), it is essential that individuals in groups learn how to communicate with each other and with outsiders or "others" and to affirm cultural knowledge and its significance for global survival. However, this does not happen overnight. Nor does it seem to happen uniformly or without raising some fears and some resistance. As Lerner has discovered, "if we begin to change our old patterns of silence or vagueness or ineffective fighting…we will inevitably meet with a strong resistance or countermove," that is, the "resistance to change, like the will to change, is a natural and universal aspect of all human systems" (1985:15). But in spite of the obstacles, the implication is that all—oppressors and oppressed, as defined by the traditional, historical relationship—will benefit.

The policies of deculturation and oppression or cultural suppression practiced by groups or cultures with an eye to eradicating or devaluing other cultures and their knowledge and/or experience has implications for the well-being and survival of us all. We are all affected by changes in relationships between "others." Until there is a well-defined relationship which allows us to orient ourselves appropriately and maturely to others, we set others apart. A hopeful example of a group resisting cultural suppression is the Pribilof Aleuts (a group of northern indigenous people primarily inhabiting the Aleutian Islands, south of the Alaska Peninsula) who have been noted for their adjustment to rapid culture change and for their continuing commitment to the environment (Jones, 1980:vi, 168). After decades of suppression, children and adults have maintained many elements of their culture, and despite a bleak economic outlook and powerful pressures from government to set these people apart, that is, to move them off the islands," the people "appear to value their environment and their way of life" (Jones, 1980:168).

We must put culture back into its natural environment; culture cannot be divorced from its natural environment or from its social function, that is, from an understanding of its significance for family and community solidarity, continuity, adaptation, well-being, and survival in the greater community (with others). Cultural knowledge is also affected by changes in relationships between others.

It is significant that those who have been marginalized in the past are initially suspect when they begin to express themselves (for instance, they are seen to be trading on their gender or their culture to get ahead), especially when they express anger. A good example of this is Lerner's discussion of women's anger:

> Even when society is sympathetic to our goals of equality, we all know that "those angry women" turn everybody off....The direct expression of anger, especially at men, makes us unladylike, unfeminine, unmaternal, sexually unattractive, or, more recently, "strident." Even our language condemns such women as "shrews," "witches," "bitches," "hags," "nags," "man-haters," and "castrators"....It is an interesting sidelight that our language—created and codified by men—does not have one unflattering term to describe men who vent their anger at women. Even such epithets as "bastard" and "son of a bitch" do not condemn the man but place the blame on a woman—his mother! (Lerner, 1985:2)

Media spokesperson, David Suzuki, who recently has been called "a subversive, a tireless ecological agent provocateur who assails our way of life and castigates the anonymous oligarchy of business and banks for their greed and blind destruction of life all over the planet" (Cuff, Nov. 4, 1989b:C4), has been held up for praise and condemnation for his anger by the media. As Cuff puts it, each week on CBC's *The Nature of Things*, Suzuki "rubs our complacent noses in the horrible messes we are helping to make in distant parts of the world" (1989b:C4). Although Suzuki is seen on Canadian network television, his show is not picked up by the United States "because Suzuki is the enemy of the interests that own ABC, CBS and NBC. More important, his concerns are antithetical to the irresponsible consumerism that the U.S. networks convey" (Cuff, 1989b:C4). Suzuki, "the angry bearer of bad news," violates some notion about the medium of television itself, and this notion is transferable to other media, including popular theatre: "His shows are usually upsetting and depressing and, worst of all, he demands that we think about what we're doing and take some responsibility for our actions" (Cuff, 1989b:C4). It is interesting to note that Suzuki has recently teamed up with two women, writer Amanda McConnell and producer/director Nancy Archibald, for a special edition of *The Nature of Things* called *Amazonia: The Road To The End Of The*

Forest,[3] which "may be the most powerful indictment of global economic irresponsibility in Brazil's besieged Amazon rain forests" (Cuff, 1989b:C4). This television program does not attempt, according to Cuff, to "please and deceive us"; instead,

> throughout the film there is a contrast between the serene, still untouched rain forest, which Suzuki calls "the world's greatest gathering of life," and the horrific pictures of poverty and destruction, which he calls the inevitable byproducts of "ignorance, injustice and greed—the same forces laying waste to the rest of the world." (Cuff, 1989b:C4)

Cuff concludes that the show "is nothing less than combat footage from the ecological war zone" (1989b:C4). Significantly, this kind of television show, perhaps the only one of its kind, an eco-documentary with Suzuki's "barely controlled fury," is placed in a high-profile time slot on the Canadian air waves (Cuff, 1989b:C4). The media is beginning to respond to the overwhelming desire for change, and Suzuki's show is just one example. The whole media, including television, newspapers, radio, and so forth, must be examined further.

Although control of the media is a consideration of this study, the focus will be on theatre. We can no longer afford to ignore people's theatre-based tools for development, and we can no longer concentrate solely on the domestic or the international scene, and only at the macro level, without seeing the links to a popular transformation world-wide. The globalization and growing intensity of the effectiveness of indigenous theatre forms to mediate and to communicate change and to allow members of groups and cultures to adapt themselves to this change is a challenge to educators as well.

Schafer (1982) says, "In conjunction with politicians, corporate executives, educators, planners and citizens, artists and arts administrators have been working diligently in recent years to insure that there are sufficient artistic resources spread throughout communities to satisfy people's aesthetic needs" (p. 18). This has led to a

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[3] This program aired on Sunday, November 5, 1989 at 8 p.m. (CBC).

dramatic build-up in arts institutions which traditionally have had a tendency to bunch together in the urban core (Schafer, 1982:18). Although, as Schafer (1982) points out, "much remains to be done in this area," it can now be said that there is a more balanced distribution of artistic resources, that is, an imaginative use of resources, spread throughout most communities, large and small, and infiltrating once narrowly, specialized segments of social institutions is an understanding of the vitality of the arts (p. 18): "This increased ubiquity of the arts is causing a major shift in opinions about the…value of the arts" (Schafer, 1982:18-19). The build-up of artistic resources and the sharing of ways of knowing among cultural groups, between once marginalized members along with society's most influential members, and between ways of knowing, for instance, the arts and the sciences, and in the forms of both experience and knowledge, is helping to bring the arts and, thus, imaginative possibilities for transformative action to all people, regardless of class, culture, physical location, gender, and so forth.

Conclusion

One of the greatest challenges facing us today is managing the dynamics of change itself. Part of the challenge is the decreasing confidence in our ability to safeguard our environment and the loss of faith in the predominant societies' and/or cultures' institutions' ability to interact with or control the ecosystem. Convinced of the inevitability of change, more and more grassroots organizations, especially Native organizations and women's groups, are emerging from a long cultural and societal history of conflict avoidance. In the emotional realm, this means that for marginalized members of cultures and societies there is an increasing anger and demand for action; consequently, there is a need for some medium that is effective in not only transforming anger into constructive action, but in helping those who were once considered voiceless and powerless to regain their self-esteem and to deal with the emotional upheaval caused by rapid changes. This will not be easy, nor will it happen in a uniform manner because for every move that is made by those who were once marginalized there will be a countermove or an act of resistance by others. However, the knowledge which grassroots' organizations have may be necessary for adapting to fast-changing circumstances. As those who in the past have held the power may now have the most to learn, it appears that it is time to learn from other cultures (groups) or marginalized individuals in societies. Those persons who are in a position of power and influence are becoming increasingly aware of their own and others' woefully inadequate use of resources and technology. The struggle for life itself is increasing, and a new balance, that is, a new economic order which is environmentally sound and sustainable, is necessary. The media is beginning to respond to the overwhelming desire for change. The questions now before us are 1) How best to mediate the will to change and the resistance to change, that is, to deal with anger and the issue of self-esteem, the codification of a new reality, the legitimization of cultural knowledge, and so forth; 2) What has been done in the past?; 3) What is being done in the present?; and 4) What are the implications for cultures and societies in the future?

CHAPTER FOUR
PEOPLE'S THEATRE: THEATRE OF SURVIVORS

> When we celebrate what we all have in common, I think we are then able to experience our differences with delight and joy. Given our tendency to fear the unknown, to fear that which is different, and to fear those who are different than us, by knowing what is familiar in others, we can possibly enjoy what is new to our experience. Just as children...we learn something new by relating it to what we already know. (Raffi, 1988)
>
> I think there are some things they ought to stress more in school, you know. Everything is on how to pass this Math course or that English course. They should help you learn the things you need to learn for life....Drama is a really good thing because it teaches you to trust people. Like everything else is just...well, they ask you some questions and you solve some problems. But that won't help you in life....You can live without Math but you can't live without learning to be unshy to people you work for. They think you can't do anything so they'll fire you. But if you can think for yourself, you can make up ideas. (Grade 8 student named Walter, a Vancouver boy of Korean background who was interviewed about school as part of the British Columbia's Sullivan Royal Commission on education, as quoted in Drainie, 1990b:C3)
>
> We do not have art,
> We just do everything to the best of our ability. (Balinese Proverb, as quoted in Schafer, 1982:37)

To preserve and to protect the environment, we must also preserve and protect the people in it by addressing an individual's well-being in community. People's theatre has increasingly made the arts more visible and conspicuous in local parks, streets, elementary and secondary schools, community colleges and universities, shopping centres, malls, church basements, local gymnasiums, and so forth. People's theatre, in common with all the arts, has the power to address the greater community's well-being and survival and to help the community adapt to fast-changing circumstances. People's theatre is an investment in finding imaginative solutions so that we may be able to change as quickly as possible, if and when necessary, in the future.

Unless we learn to deal with anger and with emotions confused by rapid change in a positive and constructive manner, the ultimate consequences may be dire. Theatre-based educational tools which provide insight and practical skills to stop groups from behaving in old, predictable ways and help their members to begin to use anger to clarify a new position in significant relationships are vital. People's theatre provides such educational tools to help participants think for themselves, to come up with imaginative solutions to problems, to communicate and engage in effective and reasonable negotiation, and to channel anger in a positive, constructive manner. People's theatre, which has been used in international settings and in Canadian communities and schools, must be examined further to address its potential. For as Lerner (1985) says,

> When we learn to use our anger energy to get unstuck in our closest and stickiest relationships, we will begin to move with greater clarity, control, and calm in every relationship we are in, be it with a friend, a co-worker, or the corner grocer. Issues that go unaddressed...only fuel our fires in other relationships. (p. 11)

People's theatre looks at the ways in which we have betrayed and sacrificed our identity in order to preserve harmony with others, what Lerner calls "De-selfing" (1985:11). Secondly, it has the power to explore the delicate balance between individuality and community, that is, between self-identity and group identity, and between self-affirmation and group-affirmation; it has the power to help the individual separate him or herself out of a group (culture) while remaining part of it. Thirdly, the arts, of which people's theatre is a very effective form for use in schools and communities, can be used to examine some of the roles and rules that define our lives and cause our deepest anger while forbidding its expression. For it is very important that we learn to express and channel our anger in such a way to make change possible, rather than blocking change, our own and others. A good example of this would be in the way artist-scientist Elisabeth Mann Borgese has channelled and expressed her anger at her society's and, simultaneously, her parents' traditional, chauvinist position that women could not hold jobs as teachers or professionals. She has evolved her anger in such a way that Norton Ginsburg, a director of the Hawaii-based East-West Centre and member of the

International Ocean Institute (founded and chaired by Borgese in 1972 to continue discussion on ocean issues and lend expertise to developing countries), said that Borgese "has kept discussion on ocean policy at a high level rather than a 'what's in it for us?' brawl" (Gooderham, 1990:D1, D8). What Borgese has managed on her own is what people's theatre is best at: it can aid the participants in analyzing how relationships get stuck and how they can get unstuck. People's theatre is a particularly visual, concrete, non-discriminatory, and humane way to see. As Lerner points out,

> close relationships are akin to circular dances, in which the behavior of each partner provokes and maintains the behavior of the other. In a nutshell, we can learn how to use our anger as a starting point to *change patterns* rather than *blame people*. (p. 12)

The arts are rooted in the human capacity for making sense of experience through processes of symbolization (Robinson, 1988). Language, mathematics, art, music, dance, theatre, and so on are all examples of this fundamental process of conceiving experience in symbolic forms (Robinson, 1988; Boal, 1979). Importantly, we do not use symbols just to communicate feelings and thoughts: the use of symbols pervades the very process of thinking (Robinson, 1988). So, for example, the words and structures of our verbal languages provide frameworks for ideas, precepts, and relationships which dispose us to think about our experiences in some ways rather than others: in learning a language in childhood we learn the culture's values and ideas which the language helps to express (Robinson, 1988). The arts are not just ways of expressing ideas, they are ways of *having* (conceiving) ideas: they are essential elements of this persistent individual process of giving meaning to experience and major arenas of social culture (Robinson, 1988; Sutton-Smith, 1988). People's theatre helps participants analyze the symbols that carry culture's values and ideas.

We must not lose sight of the fact that people's theatre, by its very nature, allows its participants to play, to engage in make-believe. The philosophical view is that man needs to be *other* than himself to escape the limits and tyranny of his own mind, point of view, and subjectivity. Theatre allows people to escape from their "social entrapment," which Crapanzano (1985) says is "the way in which a people's understanding of themselves, their world, their past, and their future limits their possibility" (p. xiii). But as Schafer (1982) points out, where the arts "still have not penetrated sufficiently into most communities to the point where they are ubiquitous to community life," the aesthetic state of these communities "is nothing short of abysmal and the prospects for the future are not good" (p. 5). "It is the arts that turn undesirable neighborhoods into desirable neighborhoods," according to Sari Weisman, co-author of *Space to Create: The Theatre Community in Crisis* (as quoted in Alaton, 1989:C3). This happens not only physically in the appropriation of space for theatre and for art galleries, but it also has economic benefits for neighborhoods, such as Edmonton's Strathcona area, where for much of August each year the Fringe Theatre Festival takes over: Simply by walking down Whyte Avenue in Old Strathcona one can see the number of new restaurants, shops, and services which have arisen in conjunction with the numbers of people attending the Fringe Festival every year. But more than in just the economic realm, this allows for a resurgence in the cultural realm. For as Melvin Fraser (IBM, Canada, Ltd.) points out,

> A community that stimulates and challenges the individual is a better community and will provide better customers, better employees and a better business climate than one where there is little stimulation. We think cultural activities are a prime source of this stimulation. (as quoted in Schafer, 1982:21)

In effect, Schafer (1982) says,

> The economy needs the arts every bit as much as the arts need the economy. It is far from coincidental that most of the established centres of world commercial activity—London, Paris, Toronto, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Hong Kong and Peking—are also prominent artistic and cultural capitals. Accelerated commercial activity provides an important stimulus to the arts. In return, artistic activity, through its ability to provide a creative climate and dynamic setting capable of attracting keen and competitive

> minds, provides an excellent inducement to business and industry in particular and economic and development in general. (p. 26)

However, Schafer also says that "it would be misleading to push the economic justification of the arts too far" (1982:26). It is not that the economy cannot survive without the arts, as the next chapter on people's theatre in the international setting examines in further detail, "but rather that the linkage effects between them are such that they both suffer substantially whenever either one of them experiences a contraction" (Schafer, 1982:26). Mistrust of or ignorance about what the arts can accomplish is a two-edged sword for it has a limiting effect on economic development to the extent that it threatens the transformative social action made possible by the community and to the extent that the "negative costs of urban living are mounting daily, threatening everywhere to escalate out of control" (Schafer, 1982:17), damaging the aesthetic environments of that community.

In the real world (the greater social, economic, and political context), "the knowledge we describe as cultural is always distributed among individuals in communities" (Keesing, 1981:72). Thus, the way that culture aids in intellectual growth "is through dialogue between the more experienced and the less experienced, providing a means for the internalization of dialogue in thought" (Bruner, as quoted in Wynnyk, 1985:12). But today, community life is in danger of deteriorating:

> People are swarming to large and small communities looking for work, as employment opportunities disappear from hinterland areas due to technological change. The result in many communities is congestion, over-crowding. Due to the expansion of all types of vehicular traffic and the location of industries in or near urban centres, severe pollution problems are emerging. A layer of film is being added to buildings, a band of smog is settling over community skies, and increased noise is filling the air. Nor is this all. Increasingly, communities are becoming segregated, as one class attempts to escape from the effects of industrialization or the steady encroachment of other classes. Ghettos and slums are appearing which lead to a serious decline in the morale of communities. All these changes—in congestion, pollution, the emergence of ghettos and slums, and the

> decline in morale—affect the aesthetic character of man-made environments. (Schafer, 1982:17)

Not only does people's theatre increase people's consciousness of the aesthetic disintegration of their natural and man-made environments, it can be used to stimulate their interest in actions to prevent it. People's theatre encourages dialogue among all the members of a community, and therefore, it encourages the dialectics of change, that is, interchange or movement between classes, which has implications for the well-being of community members in their groups (cultures) and for their well-being and survival in the greater community (society).

People's theatre techniques, which includes storytelling and collective creation and which has been adapted for use in community (Boal, 1979; Kidd and Rashid, 1984; Kidd, 1985), and which has been adapted for the classroom setting (Smillie and Murphy, 1986; Borlase, 1988), are a way of bringing a multitude of contradictory and complementary voices into the same cultural and societal space.

People's theatre reflects and activates this multivoiced conception of culture, that is, bringing a multitude of contradictory and complementary voices into the same cultural space, in effect, a reflection of the multivoicedness that makes up the real world (see Quantz and O'Connor, 1988, for a discussion of Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of "heteroglossia": individuals, culture, and societies are constituted by multiple voices; see pp. 95-6).

Is people's theatre a transformative educational intermediary or not? Kidd and Rashid (1984) have said that one must, of course, "not over-exaggerate the transformative potential of theatre" (p. 32). In 1985, Kidd once again suggested that one cannot forget "the importance of the operational historical context in which theatre is used":

> It is not enough simply to express problems (through theatre) if this is not linked with critical study of and action on the underlying causes and structures; it is not enough to rehearse struggle if this does not lead to struggle. (p. 28)

Thus, it is significant that in using people's theatre techniques as a developmental tool with *only* marginalized groups is not enough to solve social, economic, and political problems. Theatre-based tools for development (for use in schools and in communities) act as a transformative educational intermediary in that they orient people (to adapt) to fast-changing circumstances to the same extent that they unveil and call into play *cultural symbols*," which foster greater comprehension, thereby creating the possibility for meaningful participation, communication, learning, decision-making, organizing, and action" (Kidd, 1985:18) for all people by extending or transcending the obsolete boundaries (for instance, values, ideas, myths and their mystification) between members of all classes.

In the multicultural Canadian setting, we are still "ambivalent about where the arts fit in school because we're ambivalent about where they fit in life" (Drainie, 1990:bC3). In all the Canadian provinces, ministries of education "pay lip service to the civilizing nature of the arts, but grant them no priority at all" (Drainie, 1990b:C3). Judith Major, an arts policy adviser at the Ontario ministry, says, for those persons in managerial positions "everything is more important than the arts—race relations, computers, AIDS, francophone education" (as quoted in Drainie, 1990b:C3). The information already available about people's theatre's use in Canada and elsewhere in the world needs to be made available to government officials and educators because it is a powerful forum for the kinds of concerns that those in managerial positions see as important. Plus, it allows the educator to get at these concerns in a way that is seen as necessary and important to students. Drainie (1990b) adds that

> "For too long," says Gary Rupert of the Greater Victoria School District, "the education system has reflected what adults want instead of what children need. What our Royal Commission on education said two years ago [1988] is that we don't know what's good for children. All we can do is try to make them self-initiating, accepting of change, problem-solving and able to collaborate with others." Rupert admits, though, that all those good values which the arts could instill in students would have to come from ordinary

> classroom teachers and, at the present time, our faculties of education are not producing teachers who are skilled at, or even comfortable with, the arts. (p. C3)

For an individual, and thus for community, people's theatre is an effective transformative educational intermediary that functions best in its use of imitative play for healing the individual, that is, to dissect, disassemble/unravel, and to reassemble, or make oneself whole, new, and adaptive to fast-changing circumstances through artistic means. This can be likened to the process of self-healing which is set out in a guide for survivors of sexual abuse, *The Courage to Heal* (1988), written by Ellen Bass and Laura Davis. This guide describes the process as

> the decision to heal, the emerging stage—remembering, believing it happened, breaking silence, understanding that it wasn't your fault, making contact with the child within, trusting yourself, grieving and mourning, anger—"the backbone of healing," disclosures and confrontations, forgiveness, spirituality, resolution and moving on. (as quoted in Callwood, 1989:A2)

Using this definition to define people's theatre techniques addresses the need to educate the greater community, both those inside and outside marginalized groups. This is crucial in order to bolster structures of support for all people, for those who are marginalized in ways that can be likened to having a 300 pound invisible gorilla sitting on your back, for those people who fall between the cracks. It is ethnocentric and patronizing to view only some people as having problems, as only some groups as having a need to know more about themselves in order to address oppression and to affirm and to extend their cultural knowledge to mediate the experiences of their daily lives. In her role as Artistic Director of Catalyst Theatre, Ruth Smillie has fielded many calls from university students who ask, naively, where they can find, for instance, Native groups, or poor people, or battered women who are in need of their services, as well as for their research purposes (1988). There is a growing sense of grievance in the theatre community about using people's theatre techniques in such a one-sided manner. Smillie, herself, asks the questions when she goes into schools and into communities: "What is it about *myself* that is in need of affirmation, and in need of growth, what can using people's theatre techniques with other people also teach *me* more about, for instance, spirituality, art expression, that I lack?" (1988). This would seem to be a way to seek out and to affirm survivors at every step along the way while developing community, self-expression, and making possible progress toward a cross-cultural epistemology, a way of knowing that integrates the arts, sciences, and so forth. Although people's theatre has the ability to bring together the many voices that exist in a culture, on its own, it

> will never be anything more than an interesting and exciting spectacle, a chance to let out grievances and frustrations. It will work as a medium for empowerment and structural transformation only when it is woven into an ongoing process of critical analysis, organizing, and struggle. (Kidd, 1985:28)

Therefore, it is essential that

> If the arts are to achieve their rightful place in the modern world, it is not sufficient to assure for them a central position in society, the environment, the economy, politics and education. Ultimately, it is necessary to secure for them a fundamental place in life itself. (Schafer, 1982:37)

Giving voice to the experiences of the voiceless and expressing human "struggle on the stage is different from doing it in real life" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:30), and it does not mean that those voices will not continue to be ignored or purposefully shut out. If it succeeds, people's theatre may demonstrate the way to a more humane existence for all. If it fails, people's theatre can always be ignored.

But, alas, in Canada, the major stumbling block may be the classroom teachers themselves. As Drainie (1990b) points out,

> Most...are products of our mildly philistine Canadian culture themselves and no more spiritually enlightened than the rest of us. They have scant interest in the arts and no training how to make them exciting for their students. They tend to resent arts specialists or artists who are parachuted into their classrooms. "Often you can feel the waves of

> irritation coming at you from the teacher sitting at the back of the room," says one painter who works in schools, "and it can poison the atmosphere for the kids." (p. C3)

And because of this unenlightened and/or ambivalent atmosphere, the students themselves "express society's ambivalence" (Drainie, 1990b:C3). Canadian educators cite U.S. studies because, as Drainie points out, no Canadian ones exist "that show students rate music and drama, along with physical education, as their favorite subjects, but also rate the arts at the bottom of the list in terms of importance" (Drainie, 1990b:C3).

What is needed then is a clear-cut understanding of what the arts, and more specifically, people's theatre is all about. In other words, a *manifesto* of people's theatre (keeping in mind that manifestos fail if they are fixed because consciousness is not). People's theatre, theatre of survivors, theatre for improving human lives, is a fully integrated system in which the arts process is used to help people, whether adults or children, to adapt to the bewildering pace of change in today's societies, and one where they can refine and in a positive, constructive, imaginative, *and* realistic manner, the social conflict that is inevitable in a multicultural setting and in a fast-changing world.

...The Emerging Stage: Commitment to Re/Membering

People's theatre is an answer to the new challenge facing organizations world-wide to improve their ability to communicate. It also addresses the need to cut costs in that it is a "relatively *cheap medium* requiring no expensive equipment and no maintenance capacity, it can be used on a mass basis" (Kidd, 1985:18). Like the arts, in general, people's theatre makes

> few demands on the natural environment and nature's scarce resources. Apart from their need for a limited supply of the resources nature provides—paints for the painter, stone or wood for the sculptor, clay for the potter, musical instruments for the musician and sets and props for the actor—the arts have always been, and are likely to remain, very low consumers of precious energy supplies, scarce metals and valuable fibres. As such, they do not contribute significantly to the current ravaging of the environment, the rapid depletion of resources or the conspicuous blights

> which disfigure the rural landscape. In fact, in a world conscious of severe resource shortages, as labour-intensive activities, the arts offer an ideal model for resource conservation. By conserving rather than consuming nature's resources, they provide a viable alternative to present consumption practices. (Schafer, 1982:16)

Although Kidd adds that it can be used by ordinary people, it is significant to point out that there are no ordinary people, whether rural poor or urban elite; we all have a unique identity, and we all have much to offer each other in alternate ways of knowing and acting, complementary and contradictory, for the common goal of transformative action, sustainable development of human nature and of nature, and the desire for a more humane social existence, that is, for the "rational utilization" of human resources.

People's theatre requires no culture-specific literacy of the spectator and of the participant; rather, it has been and continues to be "universally popular among all social classes" (Mackerras and Wichmann, 1983:4). It is *a powerful medium* in that it can cut across self-perceived cultural, intellectual, and societal boundaries, and it is "a medium controlled by the people for expressing their ideas, concerns, and analysis at a time when other forms of expression and media are outside their control" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32). It acts as an "*oral medium in local languages*," and thus, it is inclusive rather than exclusive as it brings back into the fold of community those people who "have been excluded from development activities because of their illiteracy or lack of understanding of national languages": it acts as *a form of literacy* which people already have access to, and it "gives people back their voice, a way of articulating their understanding of and feelings about the world" (Kidd, 1985:18).

As a "means of self-expression," it can help to encourage participation among all members of a group (culture), and it can help "the development of identity and self-confidence, and grassroots communication" (Kidd, 1985:18). This grassroots communication can operate horizontally as people's theatre is a "*locally produced medium*" with the "potential of being kept within the control of the popular classes"

(Kidd, 1985:18) for their expression, communication, and education. But to limit people's theatre as a one-sided communications tool is to deny people's theatre's, or Theatre of Survivors', greatest potential, which seems to be its significance for communication, education, and arbitration between all people of all social classes.

Theatre-based tools for development seek to prepare and to rehearse participants to orient themselves more effectively within their own group (culture) and within the greater community (society) so that more action is based on informed choice and to affirm individuals for the self-determination of change. People's theatre is

> an experience of participation, interaction and self-expression through which people overcome their fears and develop a sense of their own identity, self-confidence, and class consciousness through showing people can "act," can change things, both on stage and in real life. (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32)

Thinking and acting are closely related; thus, actions cannot be understood and explained without investigating the reasons for action, even if those reasons are in turn explainable in terms of factors not accessible to the actor's consciousness (Woods and Hammersley, 1977). The appropriateness and effectiveness of any individual action is limited by the knowledge the individual has about the others' likely response. Action is seen as a process which takes place in a social context, each individual aligning his or her action to that of others by taking the role of others in his or her imagination and by making indications to him- or herself about the others' likely responses (Woods and Hammersley, 1977; Sutton-Smith, 1988). Imagination is what permits thought to work by providing it with the images and metaphors that give it direction: it is the source of knowledge and not its imitation (Sutton-Smith, 1988). While each individual has a unique biography and his or her own private stock of knowledge, s/he inhabits a world shared with a multiplicity of other individuals thinking and acting on the basis of a common-sense, taken-for-granted body of knowledge (Woods and Hammersley, 1977). We are not limited by our own knowledge and experience as we have access to a means of expression, that is, we have an awareness of our own communicative abilities and the mode or medium which unlocks them (Robinson, 1988), and as we have access to the full range of experience of others and have opportunities in community to have and to act upon alternative ways of thinking (Boal, 1979; Kidd and Rashid, 1984; Regnier, 1988; Smillie and Murphy, 1986; Freire and Shor, 1987).

Burns (1988:74) outlines this "Commitment to Re/Membering" stage as having distinctive components: 1) "Starting point," which is to find out who we are and with what purpose this community gathering will use people's theatre; 2) "Divergency," the initial discovery of this community's potential for reaching a variety of possible solutions when analyzing a problem (See also Sykes [Ed.], *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1982:280); and 3) "Clarification," making clear the theatre techniques and discovering our own adequacy and abilities with these techniques.

...The Emerging Stage: Belief, and Trust

As Brecht said, "society cannot share a common communication system so long as it is split into warring classes" (as quoted in Hebdige, 1979:16). Knowledge, education, culture, and the arts can be measures of power. Canadian artist Carl Beam (Ojibwa) said, "Self-awareness, however painful, is the first step to a larger social sense of responsibility and personal control" (as quoted in McLuhan, 1984:5). Marx himself said, "The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production" (as quoted in Hebdige, 1979:15). In fact, it does not seem to matter who says it, for wherever you turn, everyone is saying the same thing. Like tacit cultural knowledge, the ruling ideas are for the most part unquestioned. However, this does not mean the domination of one class over another, or one culture over another, or as Gramsci calls it, "hegemony," does *not* have to be won, reproduced, and sustained as ideology in the cultural realm (Abercrombie et al., 1984:99; Hebdige, 1979:16).

It is not enough to single out the ideas of the ruling class to understand why we are afraid to act; instead, we have to dig deep into our own cultural knowledge. Boal's techniques, which have spurred on the development of people's theatre world-wide, examine oppression in people's daily lives, and they can also be used to examine how oppressor and oppressed are both marginalized or forced into roles and, thus, how they are integrated. This is to emphasize that theatre has the potential to erase the physical boundaries between two opposing objects or *others*. For instance, people's theatre has the potential to look at the effects of domination on those who dominate (see Crapanzano's *Waiting: The Whites of South Africa*, 1985). A good example of this is *The Fantastical History of a Useless Man*, (a play which emerged out of the experience of the Johannesburg's Junction Theatre Company's work), a play where a white south African man "who is more at ease abroad" than at home finds his voice. This man's history is useless because of who he is—a white and wealthy South African male—and that what he represents is evil to us. Yet, when he raises his voice, we see that he is not that different from us. He joins the human collective. His concerns become public. He seems to be attempting to "shape the contour of a new reality" by the fact that he is expressing doubt about his culture in its present constraining form, a form that is consciously being maintained at a level of stasis. He is asking questions. We can empathize with his humanness, and we can applaud his courage and his daring for stepping outside the safety and constraints of his culture (Crapanzano, 1985:193). This play signifies that those who are in influential positions can also use people's theatre techniques to examine their own lives and, in effect, to join the rest of us, to seek what we all have in common.

Cultures produce a range of personalities so that when the need arises for change, for a different type of leader, there are usually some with the necessary traits and abilities to affect change. Often, it is those individuals who have spent time living and working away from their cultural space (or home base) and who have had dialogue with *others*, that is, those outside the boundaries of the person's own culture, who gain a new basis for evaluating life at home (Jones, 1980:125). Kelly Murphy, a teacher at the Saskatoon Native Survival School, who has worked to develop and successfully apply an important educational innovation to teaching methods with dramatic results, "previously taught pre-school children in Zambia's shanty town Liberty Schools, situated in old motorless school buses" (Regnier, 1988:28). Another notable example can be cited with regards to the Aleuts: two brothers, community leaders who have spent considerable time working and living away from the Aleutian islands, have emerged from a long cultural history of avoidance to exert a growing assertiveness in valuing and continuing their way of life and to affect change to protect their offspring from living under the same conditions they had known at home (Jones, 1980:125). These examples are further proof that we may be able to overcome and change cultural constraints that threaten our well-being and survival. If a community of individuals is not functioning very well with relationship to the greater community, then that same community does not change from functioning poorly to very well in one generation.

In Canada, with "with more than 40 percent of native Indians on reserves living on social assistance, Indian chiefs have decided there are better uses for welfare money than simple handouts, a national native spokesman told a Senate committee" on social affairs, science, and technology during its first hearing on child poverty, March 6, 1990 (as quoted in Fine, 1990b:A12). Ovide Mercredi, an executive member of the Assembly of First Nations, representing Canada's approximately 510,000 status Indians, more than half of whom live on reserves, has said that "the federal government must allow Indian bands to use welfare money in 'more creative ways' to break their dependence on social assistance" (as quoted in Fine, 1990b:A12). Mercredi says that Native people are "tired of being called welfare bums around this country," and he proposed some new Native-determined initiatives whereby the federal and provincial governments could work *with* indigenous peoples: "They could pay people wages for work on community projects or participation in training programs or supplement the income from traditional Indian occupations such as hunting, fishing and trapping" (Fine, 1990b:A12).

Theatre-based programs can extend this work in committee, in effect, can extend dialogue by adding the dimension of action and reflection. We can learn from the experience of others, that is, from the enactment and performance of culturally transmitted experiences of others, in effect, from others' ways of knowing and interacting (Turner, 1982:19). A good example of this is Lib Spry's "Theatre of the Oppressed" (Boal, 1979) workshop, in collaboration with Catalyst Theatre, at Northern Lights Theatre rehearsal space (December 15, 1988), where a re-enactment of a scene based on a true story whereby a young woman is fired from her cocktail waitress position at a private club without due cause. The woman's powerlessness and voicelessness are made evident in the face of the events which took place. This was translated into another situation by an observer who had also experienced a firing at a working-class hotel bar. Much shared information was uncovered by the group, and new ways of interacting in such a situation were also discovered. Through role-playing with other group members, the woman began to realize that she had had her rights violated and that there are laws to protect her in such a set of circumstances. Some alternative choices of action which were acted out revealed the probable consequences of taking this alternative action, for example, documenting and disseminating information about her immediate boss' deceptive practices and threats and revealing this type of illegitimate behavior to the owner of the establishment, and the media, if necessary; not only making allies, but learning *how* to make allies, of co-workers; and, the hiring of a lawyer to draft a letter (which the original storyteller had not even considered because of the prohibitive costs that she wrongly felt such action would entail). By bringing her boss' deception and her own misinformation and lack of information out into the open, into the public domain, the young woman might have saved her job and been rewarded with an out-of-court settlement, as the second woman discovered in a set of similar circumstances. The first young woman's immediate boss had been counting on her powerlessness, mystification, and voicelessness. She did not have enough information and confidence to make any meaningful decision and to translate that into action. The oppressor had of course never expected that the woman's rights would be affirmed in a drama workshop and that she might discover a number of options to allow her to break out of her silent compliance to oppression. Although this scene was acted out after the event, and after the firing had taken place, all who had participated and observed were now armed with more information about how to deal with just such a circumstance. The next time this woman or any of the other participants takes a job, they will be so much better prepared. Thus, people's theatre is "a forum for popular education; bringing people together and building a spirit of solidarity" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32). Theatre-based tools for development are much more effective than simple group discussion alone in that they provide individual rehearsal and group affirmation for transformative reflection and action. In this workshop, it was observed that Boal's "forum theatre" and "image theatre" techniques transcend communication by words alone (Spry, 1988).

People's theatre has a role to play in learning (and the defining of a self in relation to others), especially if this is seen to be the outcome of a biologically-rooted process that has many participants and that has taken shape over a long period of time (Kerr, 1988). In the social and cultural arena which is people's theatre, there is always much dialogue and/or play between group members (sometimes without words). For learners, dialogue and play offers decision-making opportunities in that it assists the move from "decisions focussing basically on themselves to decisions incorporating both self and others," and it helps to develop an ability and a willingness to understand others "by means of questioning, presenting views and making reflective interpretations" (Wynnyk, 1985:12-13). Wynnyk (1985) adds that "the more people reflect on their decisions, the more meaningful their decisions will become" (p. 13).

Boal's theatre workshops deal with oppression by mirroring and analyzing people's true experiences through role-playing and by freezing the action in order to make explicit the visual (concrete), physical relationships more closely between oppressor and oppressed and by engaging people in dialogue in order to discover a multi-voiced perception on how to address oppression and how to resist it (Spry, 1988). Also, it addresses the change/change back kinds of cues coming not only from the oppressor but from the oppressed persons themselves and from other members of their culture.

When more powerful persons, the dominant class, institutions, and the media, deny one's own experience, the telling of one's own truth, for instance, just because one is a welfare recipient, people's theatre restores the balance and legitimizes the individual's knowledge in a group context. The conservative, "traditional North American view that poverty is a chariot harness to laziness and corruption" is also a "grass-roots view" (French, 1989:D5). By breaking through the "conspiracy of silence" which maintains that "relationships are where one person is powerful and the other helpless" and which ensures that most cases of oppression in daily life go unreported and unnoticed by others ("Arctic study...,"1989:A5), people's theatre is a *form of resistance*, that is, "a means of resisting the ideas propagated by the dominant class, institutions and media" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32). This may be one of people's theatre's most significant components, as the "conspiracy of silence" functions as a "hidden curriculum" or barrier to the well-being and survival of some cultural groups. A good example of this is in the numerous examples of non-Native illegitimization of Native leaders and their cultural knowledge. Roy McDonald, Chief of Whitedog Ojibway reserve in northwestern Ontario, "was a teenager when his Ojibway community was devastated by flooding from an Ontario Hydro dam" (York, 1989:A8). That was about 32 years ago when the community's homes were destroyed, traplines damaged, a fishing industry wiped out, and Ojibway graves were washed away (York, 1989:A8). In September of 1989, Chief McDonald and his band members, after waiting nearly a third of a century for the hydroelectric corporation to provide some compensation, lost their patience. Chief McDonald "had already been waiting for the compensation for most of his lifetime. He announced that he was prepared to organize an armed blockade of a road near the Whitedog reserve" (York, 1989:A8). In the late 1950s, Chief McDonald

> acted as interpreter for his grandfather at a meeting with Ontario Hydro officials. "My grandfather tried to convince them that there would be erosion and the graves would wash away, but the Hydro official didn't even want to listen. It was like trying to talk to a rock." (York, 1989:A8)

The Director of the Northwest region for Ontario Hydro said the

> compensation was delayed for several years because it required orders-in-council from the federal and provincial cabinets, legal drafting of Hydro easement rights, and surveying of land parcels that are included in the compensation package.
>
> However, the company's files do not clearly explain the reasons for the delays from 1957 to 1983, Mr. Doran said. (York, 1989:A8)

The payment finally arrived the week of October 19, 1989; however, what does this kind of "conspiracy of silence" do to Native people and especially to the Ojibway children of Whitedog reserve? Unless this situation is rectified, the fact that the dominant culture's bureaucrats and government officials do not "listen" to the role-models in the Native community may do far more damage than any school or theatre can undo. Another example is significant in that it is provided by the non-Native community in reaction to the intense media coverage of the NATO low-level military flights being conducted over the lands of the Innu people at Goose Bay, Labrador (a letter to the editor from a Vancouver woman, Day, entitled, "History of discrimination," *The Globe and Mail*, Monday, October 16, 1989;.

> members of the Innu nation are going to jail. Several hundred have been charged with public mischief for demonstrating peacefully against the military flights, which are damaging their health and way of life.
>
> European countries do not want these flights over their territories and Canada does not allow them over Canadian

> cities or over areas where the population is predominantly white. Canada and its NATO allies are apparently content, however, to allow low-level flights over the lands of one of Canada's indigenous peoples and then jail them for protesting.
>
> Throughout the history of Canada's colonization, discrimination against indigenous peoples has taken many forms. This is another manifestation of it. What does it gain us? Does destroying the environment and the traditional way of life of the Innu really contribute to the security of Canada and Western European countries?
>
> Whose security?

People's theatre is resistant to the structural views of the dominant culture which are detrimental to but passively accepted by the grassroots. As *a codification of reality* "used to raise issues and stimulate discussion," people's theatre reveals the myths that inform action and/or how the "ideological" structures of the dominant group or culture have penetrated the unconscious of the oppressed and the oppressor, "a means of mirroring reality in order to stand back and study" (Kidd, 1985:18; Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32). Thus people's theatre is "a process of popular education—as a tool of analysis, of testing out through role-playing the limits and possibilities for action and unveiling the contradictions and structures underlying everyday reality" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32).

As a form of confidence-building, it enables "people to overcome fears and rationalizations, to find their own voice (the courage to express their own thoughts including criticism and protest)," and "to build up a sense of individual identity and a collective identity" (Kidd, 1985:21).

Burns (1988:74) outlines this stage as involving a research component: 1) "Particular Divergency," which means an opportunity for each individual to try different ways of expressing his or her social reality and in many different modes and settings, in other words, to have the confidence to experiment with ideas and expression through action; and 2) "Shared Values Determined," a process of sharing views and trusting in community through a series of theatre exercises which develop and extend this collective ability through "collaborative analysis, collective decision-making, the development of group or organizational activity, and collective action" (Kidd, 1985:21).

...The Intermediary Stage: Making Contact with the Child Within (The Imagination) And Developing a Critical/Emancipatory Understanding

We come into this world and enter into a network of social and cultural relations, and right from the start, we begin to explore the capacity to empathize or to be like the other, in effect, the affective and social aspects of the mind (Bower, 1977:28-30). From the earliest moments of play, a child learns through imitation to assume a certain relationship where the "other" must be controlled or confronted, or in opposition to this, a non-confrontational relationship as in the Canadian Native and northern indigenous view of the world (Kelly, 1988:A7). For example, this non-confrontational relationship to others which constitutes the Pribilof Aleuts' view of the world: the Aleuts traditionally were noted for their "finely-tuned indirect styles of communication," which means that they practiced avoidance rather than confrontation by a sophisticated means for maintaining inter-group relations and relations with others through "the use of third-party intermediaries; norms that discouraged complaining, arguing, and confronting; and sanctions that involved ostracizing persons who violated these norms" (Jones, 1980:124). Neither view can be regarded as more important than the other; but both are highly significant indicators of the importance culture plays in learning.

People's theatre as a cultural animator is "a way of recovering, reviving, validating, and advancing the people's own culture and history" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32) by allowing its participants to play, to engage in make-believe. Imaginative play is a way to build trust among members of a group and to begin to discover one's creative, expressive abilities in many different forms, especially through manipulating the human body into shapes, and action poses, which provides sensory feedback for both participant and observer. Through the many theatre exercises which develop and extend groups skills, solidarity is formed, and a belief in one's own stories is fostered, that is, a legitimization of one's own knowledge, experience, and way of knowing, that it, whatever it is, really happened the way that one experienced it.

Play, like theatre, is a time when a human being is wholly absorbed and protected from the real world and, for a limited time, engrossed in his/her creation. Imitation, play, and make-believe (imagination) are essential components in the acquisition of cultural knowledge, in the direction of the use of this knowledge creatively and affectively to deal with changing circumstance, in the cultivation of new understandings and meanings, and for a successfully lived life (Bower, 1977:28-30; Levinson and Osterweil, 1984:130; Bettelheim, 1967:81,79; Sutton-Smith, 1988; Phillips Jr., 1964:n.p.; Turner, 1982:84; and see also Maclean, n.d.:188, plus Levinson and Osterweil, 1984:131,136, for a discussion of autistic children's inability to imitate and the resulting "devastating consequences" for communication, in effect, for the formation of the "usual, biologically-provided affective contact with people").

As Kidd and Rashid (1984) point out, restoring confidence in the community's cultural production might translate into confidence in the political and economic sphere. Personally accepting blame for all that happens to you has very negative implications for an individual and for a group, and it can be fatal in large doses. However, unless confidence translates into reflection, legitimization of knowledge and experience, action, and organization, it would be too cruel to restore the confidence of those who still lack the economic and political clout and organizational ability to change their existence.

Burns (1988) defines this stage as having a research component: 1) "Statement of Intent," that is, what is it that the community can and wants to do; and 2) "Selection/Limitation," which involves zeroing in on the community's key issues (p. 74).

...The Intermediary Stage: Organizing for Effective/Affective Response

People's theatre is *an organizing medium* in that it politicizes people and draws them into popular organizations and struggle (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32). Theatre's communication, which operates at a very powerful level, offers the chance for participants to imitate and to be affected, that is, to empathize with what they have observed and/or acted. There is a physical (kinesthetic) communication which is going on as well. Dialogue alone does not provide learners and participants with the kind of sensory stimulation, activation of cultural symbols, and affective response that people's theatre techniques attain.

People's theatre provides a more immediate and more enjoyable instruction in culture and in society than formal educational processes alone. As "*entertainment* it can attract and hold the interest of large numbers of people," including those "whom have been alienated by authoritarian methods," of formal and non-formal education, development, and formal and non-formal theatrical forms and methods of creation (Kidd, 1985:18).

Quantz and O'Connor (1988) have emphasized in their study, "Writing Critical Ethnography...," that the contradictory and complementary multiple voices who make up a group (culture) and the greater community (society) must be documented to reveal and to affirm the emancipatory impulses of those who are marginalized. Because people's theatre has this power, the resurgence of alternative forms of theatre and methods of theatrical creation, such as Edmonton's Fringe Festival (which has links world-wide), is also a response to the message that "art is a class of luxury goods, unworthy of any special privilege and powerless to nourish consciousness" (Mays, 1989:C4).

The true dialectic of artistic creation is "between doing it and perceiving it" (Robinson, 1988), and this argues for the human being not merely to attend theatrical performances, but for the human being as active agent in his/her learning. It is not enough for people to attend performances of people's theatre, it is crucial that they are drawn into analyzing the performance, that they are made active participants, and this applies in all the areas of the arts as they are ways of knowing, and they must be experienced first-hand. Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" techniques, by using a "joker" to stop the action of the play and to ask the audience to act out their solutions to the conflict or conflicts presented with the other actors/participants, is just such a method (Spry, 1988). This blurring between the performer and audience is crucial, for as Robinson (1988) argues, it is "that interactive process which is part of the generative process of culture itself." In this way, people's theatre is *participation as goal and means* since

> the process is aimed at increased participation or activism by the oppressed in asserting control over their lives....which encourages them to take greater participation in and control over the learning process (rather than remaining the passive objects of an externally-controlled communication or learning exercise).... (Kidd, 1985:21)

As *a medium which puts information and analysis in a form linked to social experience*, people's theatre is *an effective/affective way of communicating*, and as *a "live" medium* it has the potential for stimulating actor-audience interaction" (Kidd, 1985:18). In such a way is people's theatre also a process of facilitating critical consciousness, "drawing out people's latent dissatisfaction and sense of injustice, challenging the everyday understandings and ruling-class myths controlling consciousness," including the myth that the oppressed and the oppressor cannot change or do not want to change their situation, and deepening their understanding of the political-economic structures which shape the possibilities for and constraints on (Kidd, 1985:21) both the oppressed and the oppressor.

People's theatre is the living form of a people's curriculum: "reflecting popular issues, concerns and aspirations, rather than the externally-imposed textbooks and the conventional education or the externally-prescribed messages of traditional development work" (Kidd, 1985:21; Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32).

Burns (1988:74) outlines the work that must be done in this section which is demanding and critical: 1) "Material shaping"; 2) "Research/form and content"; 3) "Re-definition of Statement of Intent"; 4) "Dramatic shaping of: design, direction, acting, conventions, and text"; 5) "Rehearsal"; and 6) "Performance."

It is important to note that the language of the theatre is as demanding as any other and leads to analytical ways of knowing that are highly advanced and intense (intellectually and emotionally). Before any transferable theatre event can be recognized, Burns (1988:74) suggests these additional steps: 1) "Feedback/Critical Response"; 2) "Evaluation"; 3) "Research"; 4) "Revision"; 5) "Final Scripting"; and 6) "Text Created."

However, the performance itself is "not the total experience"; rather, people's theatre as *an educational process rather than a finalized product* means that "the performance aspect is linked with and reinforced by discussion...other forms of interaction" (Kidd, 1985:20) and organization. As part of an organizing process which can be used by anyone, and any group, the performance aspect, as a communicative process, helps to build alliances with other groups, organizing collective action, in the same way on the small-scale as on the grand scale (Kidd, 1985:21).

...The Final Stage: Dealing With Disclosures and Moving On

People's theatre is shown to be a very effective transformative educational intermediary that needs little or no training of participants to begin to be used (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:32); storytelling, play, imitation, and make-believe (imagination) are its central components, but the method still must be taught by professionals who are willing and able to deal with the kind of disclosures that this practice enables (Smillie, 1988). Examples of people's theatre which have caused some dramatic disclosures on themes ranging from sexual abuse to alcoholism were expressed at the Spry (1988) Workshop on Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" techniques. Many times, it had been observed that there was no organized intervention by theatre workers and/or community support services; in fact, only other audience members intervened during people's theatre productions of controversial issues. During a sexual abuse people's theatre "forum" production, Spry (1988), herself, said she witnessed a terrible scene where a woman in the audience realized for the first time that she may have been sexually abused as a child. This was very frightening for the audience member who was approximately 65-years-old (Spry, 1988). Fortunately, Spry and another audience member made contact with the woman and assisted her.

Implications

In the 1990s, anger that translates into "blaming" others will only lead to further social conflict. Managing change then means managing social conflict and managing and refining our emotional and communicative response. According to Lerner (1985), "In order to use our anger as a tool for change," people need to learn to develop and sharpen skills and this is certainly what people's theatre has already made possible. People's theatre is a forum where we can learn to tune in to the true sources of our anger and clarify where we stand because managing anger effectively goes hand in hand with developing a clearer self-identity (Lerner, 1985:13). People's theatre is an effective way to teach communication skills which will "maximize the chances that we will be heard and that conflicts and differences will be negotiated" (Lerner, 1985:13). According to Lerner, in power-structural relationships, "maintaining a calm, non-blaming position is essential in order for lasting change to occur" (p. 14). People's theatre allows its participants to observe and interrupt non-productive patterns of interaction, which has the added potential of increasing our sense of personal responsibility in every relationship that we enter into, in effect, revealing our compliance in non-productive, and destructive traditional interactions and showing us how to anticipate and manage change in a positive and constructive way. More importantly, it also shows that we cannot manage change or change others unless we are also willing to change ourselves.

Our inability to integrate the arts and sciences has meant that "until recently, it was commonplace to assume that the arts made an insignificant contribution to the economy" (Schafer, 1982:21). This "fallacious assumption" has been further exacerbated by formal learning institutions ignoring or denying that artists and businessmen and women "can derive mutual benefits from closer association and cooperation" (Schafer, 1982:26). It has also affected what we believe the arts can do in the area of social transformation. Unless the arts, and one of its most viable contemporary forms, people's theatre, has links with industry, banks, businesses, scientists, politicians, members of the helping services, educators, and the community it traditionally has served—societies' and cultures' marginalized and powerless members—it may continue to be a limited force for improving human lives.

Conclusion

People's theatre, in common with all the arts, has the power to address the greater community's well-being and survival and to help the community adapt to fast-changing circumstances. But the arts have not penetrated sufficiently into most communities' social institutions where they have a central position, a fundamental place in life itself. How this is to be done and how this is already being done in many modern societies needs to be examined so that the arts, which represent excellence, creativity, integrity, rational utilization of resources, and many other qualities, will no longer be at risk of being marginalized and treated as a frill.

CHAPTER FIVE
PEOPLE'S THEATRE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

> Maybe it would be better to say that the task of art, or at least one of the tasks of art in the case of the theatre, is not to "make the revolution," but to shape the contour of a new reality, to engender doubts to ask questions, to demystify pseudo problems, and...as a consequence...to run the risk of failing, of being ignored. (Giorgio Strehler, as quoted in Trousdell, 1986:65)

What better way to begin an examination of people's theatre with a view to Bangladesh and China than with the words of a "life-long Socialist" committed to the Brechtian idea of theatre as a human and humanizing movement toward a more humane world collective (Trousdell, 1986:65). Like many others in the world-wide collective of theatre, Giorgio Strehler, a contemporary director with the Piccolo Teatro of Milan, is continuing the work of Brecht's Berliner Ensemble in Germany and Grotowski's Experimental Laboratory in Poland (see *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, 1964; and Grotowski's *Towards a Poor Theatre*, 1968). Brecht's form of people's theatre, as Strehler puts it, "created ways of 'placing the world and theatre in a dialectical relationship' that could improve human life" (as quoted in Trousdell, 1986:66).

The Aranyak of Bangladesh and the Yimin Factory workers' organization of China, two very different amateur theatre collectives, reflect the growing world-wide phenomena of people's theatre and the recognition of this phenomena as a communications tool for popular organizing, education, and transformation. How theatre mediates social transformation, in fact, how such cultural expression is the mediator of change, can be examined by comparing and contrasting these two people's theatre experiences. The Yimin Factory experience attempts to draw the audience onto the stage to act the part of revolutionary hero(in)es and, in the process, become or emulate those role models in their daily lives. The Bangladesh experience engages the audience in the attempt to interpret, represent, and revitalize the cultural knowledge of the landless. This giving voice to every man, woman, and child is what Strehler (as quoted in Trousdell, 1986) sees as theatre's "unique potential for true human synthesis" (p. 33). Engaging in dialogue with the people, especially the poor, the disenfranchised, and the working classes, in order to gain access to and interpret their world of experience, enabling further action and reflection, is the first sign of a popular world-wide cultural transformation, that is, a move toward more humane societies.

...The Emerging Stage: Commitment to Re/Membering

A discussion of the years leading up to the formation of the Aranyak People's Theatre in Bangladesh (1971) demonstrates how people's theatre acts as a transformative communications medium. Kidd and Rashid (1984) examine how people's theatre,

> In its long history of foreign domination and of hierarchical structural relationships...has not only reflected the struggles between the dominant castes (Brahmins and Khotriyas) and classes (feudal overlords, foreign invaders, bourgeoisie) and the subordinate castes (Boishyas and Shudras) and classes (middlemen, peasants, artisans, landless laborers) but also has served as a weapon in this struggle—as a means of reinforcing the domination of the ruling classes or as a tool of challenging their exploitation and rallying popular struggle against oppression. (p. 35)

In pre-thirteenth century Bengal, mythological dramas reinforced the status quo: "Through showing the importance and heroism of the gods they taught deference to the feudal overlords and acceptance of the overlord's right to the surplus from the peasants' labor" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:35). Thus, a "Brahmanic hegemony" of ideas was communicated which adjusted the people to their situation and "reinforced belief in a supernatural order which controlled the world, inducing acceptance of a fatalistic and submissive approach to the world" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:35). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, "a new form of people's resistance 'theatre' emerged to challenge the caste hierarchy of Brahmanical law," condemning "the hypocrisy and decadence of the system" and advocating "a new more egalitarian order" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36). In Bengal, a "cultural renaissance" occurred about the latter part of the eighteenth century with the arrival of the British. Fil Fraser (1988), member of the Canadian Multicultural Council, has posited a theory that when you have intercultural communication, or "a mix and a clash of cultures," you also have the greatest flourishing of the arts and vice versa. Starting with the Bengali educated elite, who saw "that their interests could not be accommodated by colonialism," the performing arts did flourish in Bengal "and by the 1920s, they had filtered all the way down to a transformation of the rural folk theatre, which began to communicate "a more sustained nationalist struggle" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36). Traditional people's theatre of the villages "became a symbol for the struggle and the Bengali elite who had previously ignored or denigrated [it] began to revalue it" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36). The rural folk form of people's theatre, "which had traditionally dealt with historical or mythological themes," underwent a transformation, so that by the 1920s it could deal more effectively with the contemporary themes of colonial injustice, caste oppression, feudal exploitation, and tactics for anti-colonial struggle (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36). The play "Nildarpan" (literally the "Indigo Mirror," written in 1870) "exposed the atrocities committed against farmers who refused to plant their fields with indigo," and it served as a fairly loud communications medium in the nationalism it aroused (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36). The elite and the poor were thus able to communicate to one another an "anti-colonial protest" through people's theatre forms at rural fairs and festivals.

According to Kidd and Rashid (1984), "popular theatre was a major force in the forties and fifties when it served as the cultural arm of nationalist struggles all over the Third World, inspired by the experiences such as the Communist Chinese 'resistance theatre' of the thirties" (p. 33). People's theatre is such a powerful transformative communications medium "in nationalist hands" that the colonial forces and ensuing governments tried to shut it down (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:33). After the "de-colonizing era" was over, for instance, in Bengal by 1947, popular theatre and cultural workers all over the Third World were brutally massacred and suppressed, often by the nationalists who had come to power. Kidd and Rashid (1984) point out that by the end of the sixties popular theatre re-emerged as a groundswell that lead the peasants and workers struggles "against the pressures of surplus appropriation and other forms of victimization and [their] fight for land, better working conditions, and structural changes" (p. 33).

During the Cultural Revolution in China, and, more precisely, "during the movement to popularize the model operas from 1970 to 1976," revolutionary model operas were to serve as an outside-to-inside transformative, communications tool for spectators and as an inside-to-outside transformative, communications tool for participants (Judd, 1983:26). Since Mao believed that "spirit changes matter," he ordered that amateur drama was to be revived and patterned on revolutionary models (Judd, 1983:26-27). Through this amateur drama movement, not only could larger numbers be reached with revolutionary propaganda, but the people could be involved as active participants (Judd, 1983:36). However, due to the denunciation of the pre-revolutionary performing arts, more precisely, the folk culture, prior to the Cultural Revolution, the professional realm was at a standstill, and during this period, the ensuing narrow diet of theatre and film may have led to what Zhou Yang, Chairman of the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles, calls "ossified" thinking (Mackerras, 1981:25,71). Mao's call for the arts to depict revolutionary hero(in)es in the revolutionary model operas showed a misunderstanding of the nature of cultural symbols as communication tools; after long exposure, the symbols in these operas became redundant, boring, and meaningless rather than influential, and they may have led the people to revolution just for the sake of change, but not in the way that Mao had planned. It is like reading a newspaper which chooses to use the word "scandal" in every bold headline. After a while nobody notices, and nobody cares. It just becomes rote and leads to the petrification of feelings rather than leading to a more emotionally responsive communication. Perhaps this is why Mao eventually demanded greater appreciation of foreign cultures and why Yang concluded that China must "strengthen and expand cultural exchanges with other countries, and develop friendly contacts with writers and artists in other parts of the world" (Mackerras, 1981:71).

...The Emerging Stage: Belief and Trust

The Aranyak organization of Bangladesh (founded soon after Bangladesh's Independence, December 1971) has been getting the landless laborers to do dramas about their daily lives (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:38). Aranyak's work is very much akin to Augusto Boal's work (see his *Theatre of the Oppressed*, 1979) in that it encourages peasants to re-appropriate theatre and art forms which were once integrated into their everyday existence but have been appropriated by the middle and upper classes (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:40).

In the initial stages, Aranyak's members interview the landless about their problems, which they are often reluctant to admit they have (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:42). It is not that they are blind or deaf to the struggle of their existence, it is that they often respond by saying, "it's Allah's will." They see no contradiction in their society; they are on the whole passive and skeptical about making any change in their lives; they have no belief and trust in their own abilities to know, to speak, to be heard, and thus to act, in effect, a throwback to the Brahmanic hegemony of ideas. This is precisely when one of Aranyak's members will ask, "Why does Allah patronize these people who've been stealing your land and remain silent when you're dying of starvation" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:42). Often, confusion occurs: Aronoff (1983) explains that if a rival definition succeeds in undermining the previous "taken-for-grantedness" of the previous dominant definition of reality the person or persons must attempt to "reinterpret the old cultural forms or supplant them with new ones" (p. 4). The outcome of this has been open resistance from the dominant groups (high culture); for example,

> one workshop was held in a fishing community whose livelihood had been destroyed by the damming of a river further upstream. The fishermen decided to make their play about the land created by the silting of the river. This land

> had been grabbed by the larger landowners in the area, even though there is a policy in Bangladesh that this kind of land should be given to fishermen. The play inspired the fishermen to get organized and to occupy the land. There was lots of resistance from the landlords but in the end the fishermen prevailed and some of the large landowners had to leave the area. (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:45)

In China, the most exemplary unit of amateur activity during the Cultural Revolution was the Yimin Factory, a previously American-owned company. In 1975, it was a state-owned, middle-sized factory in urban Shanghai, with a staff of over 1,300, half of whom were women, which produced luxury foodstuffs, largely for export (Judd, 1983:29). The factory "had several types of organized spare-time activity available for its staff: an international affairs study group, a fine arts group, and a literary criticism group, as well as a large performing propaganda team" (Judd, 1983:29). The "continuing showpiece of Yimin Factory" was its "Granny Li Team," fifteen older women (ranging in age from 43 to over 60, some retired), who sang songs of the grandmother characters from the model operas (Judd, 1983:29). By the mere fact of performing, plus their renown, these older women were unusual for several reasons: "most amateur activists were young unmarried people; married women have a heavy burden of domestic labor; and ideas about the unsuitability of women performing still held force" (Judd, 1983:29). This example of resistance to the tacit cultural knowledge that women of their age "were not accustomed to performing and were rarely encouraged to do so," actually "constituted yet another breakthrough which could be credited to the new literary and artistic line" (Judd, 1983:28). Yimin Factory "was exceptionally successful in generating widespread participation in its amateur activities and in moving beyond the model operas toward its own creative work, demonstrating the potential of the popularization movement for reviving amateur drama and stimulating creative work" (Judd, 1983:28). Judd (1983) says, "The group of gray-haired women in identical costume, moving and singing in unison, effectively recreated the heroic granny characters...while at the same time avoiding any trace of individual prominence" (p. 30).

As an organizing medium, China's amateur drama unit in the Yimin Factory may have been more successful at politicizing and drawing women into an organized communality than men. This does not mean that they were not involved, it just means that the men organized more slowly, and this may have had something to do with "an apparent effort to restrain male dominance" in the greater political and social context (Judd, 1983:30). However, in this case, Judd has not been able to give us enough information.

Judd (1983) made a careful study of China's amateur drama movement through the 1970s and made an effort to view the Chinese context holistically, from within their political, social, economic, and cultural environment, but not necessarily from an historical context. However, by not speaking to the actual participants in the Yimin Factory amateur theatre unit, she has still left us with a homogeneous view of Chinese culture. Judd notes that she had personal communication with one participant, but mainly, she has drawn her account of the amateur drama movement from dialogue with senior officials, newspaper articles, political tracts, and her own attendance at some of the model operas. Because Quantz and O'Connor (1988) have emphasized in their study, "Writing Critical Ethnography...," that the contradictory multiple voices that make up a culture must be documented to reveal the struggles for domination and the emancipatory impulses of those who are marginalized, I think that the missing voices of the participants, that is, the ordinary workers, in the Yimin Factory amateur theatre unit prove to be a serious deficiency in Judd's paper. Perhaps this is an area of research that was beyond her control, for instance, requiring permission from the government to speak with more participants. However, Judd makes no mention of this in her paper except to say that she has relied on Daniel Bryant for making inquiries on her behalf in Shanghai in the summer of 1982 when she was one of a class of foreign students studying modern Chinese literature at Fudan University. As part of the four months study tour, she and others were given the opportunity to investigate the movement to popularize the model operas. However, she and her liaison were not able to directly contact the factory; instead, they spoke to a senior official at a university which was formerly closely connected, but since such a connections was viewed in 1982 as an error, he had nothing positive to say (Judd, 1983:29). Judd also had personal communication with one participant in these activities at the factory. This participant's examination, in effect, is restricted to "positive" outcomes: the accomplishments, cultural enrichment and changed attitudes to social development, and the women's increased abilities to take care of their children through studying and performing model operas (Judd, 1983:28, 32).

The obvious strength in Kidd and Rashid's (1984) article is the ethnographic data they provide in their section dealing with the Aranyak's people's theatre experiences. There are excerpts from the twenty-five two-week-long workshops (held in 1982) with the landless peasants, and we get a strong sense of "the power of the landless laborer's stories," as much as if we were there listening (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:38). According to Kidd and Rashid (1984), people's theatre in Bangladesh has been such an effective, organizing medium and cultural arena for building solidarity because it has been recognized as "one of the battlegrounds in the struggle between the dominant and subordinate classes in Bengal for centuries" (p. 32). Unfortunately, the lines in Bangladesh are still drawn between these two warring classes.

...The Intermediary Stage: Making Contact with the Child Within (The Imagination) And Developing a Critical/Emancipatory Understanding

An important theme during the Cultural Revolution was "ensuring proletarian hegemony" in literature and art (Judd, 1983:28), possibly to affect all other spheres of the cultural and societal realms. Chinese folk artists, however, were not considered part of the officially approved amateur drama movement and were seen as a "bad influence" (Judd, 1983:28). To play up the importance of negative censorship in the Chinese context would be misleading. Mackerras and Wichmann (1983) have emphasized that it was well-known in China that

> a government, actors, rebel groups, or any commercial or other enterprise can achieve much more influence much more effectively by arranging for particular types of drama to be shown than by barring or preventing the performance of plays they consider harmful or immoral. (p. 5)

In other words, like in the age-old saying, the Chinese know that you can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar. Also, the idea of building *dependence* upon (as opposed to Aranyak's encouragement of independence from) the organization that encourages and supports particular types of plays is seen in China as a favorable consequence. This has something to do with the way the arts are integrated into Chinese society (especially into a society with a powerful, central control) whereby a "positive" kind of control and censorship over theatre in China has been imposed by "all Chinese governments" (Mackerras and Wichmann, 1983:5), in one form or another. Now whether this is recognized as an imposition by the people is not known.

The artistic dictation by some higher-up in an organization indicates a distrust of popular spontaneity, and this would be seen in the West as the height of infringement upon personal freedom and therefore upon an individual's creativity. This way of organizing from the top-down, as Mao ordered changes to be made in the amateur drama movement, would also seem, at least from a Western point of view, to be contradictory to Mao's emphasis on creating proletarian hegemony.

What can be viewed as an inherent contradiction can also be seen as an example of Mao's belief in the "universality of contradiction"; in effect, he knew and demonstrated this contradiction as "the change of everything into its opposite" (Hak and Van Ree, 1984:90). To some Westerners, this may seem to be a very indirect way of imposing change; in fact, it is evidence of Chinese culture in operation (or cultural enrichment) as a medium of change. Because of the myth about an "open opportunity system" in the West

(White, 1980-81:52), there is a belief in the goodness and the rightness of being direct and open and a belief in the power of the individual to act against a system, organization, or institution, to address contradiction in society rather than merely accepting it. This almost fools us into thinking that we, as individuals, can know the outcomes of the change we wish to impose directly upon a system. Obviously, this has implications for the way that we impose change and in how we view the way others impose change. Which way has the more predictable outcomes? The Western myth is based on what White (1980-81) sees as "the occasional success of a working class student" to make his or her way through what he argues, in the school context, is actually a very "exploitative system" (p. 52). This does not happen very often, or very predictably, just often enough that it shores up what we believe.

As a cultural animator, the Yimin Factory's amateur drama unit fostered new works which passed through several stages of revisions whereby "very specific topics and issues were dramatized with local color": according to Judd (1983), this was an organizational coup as it succeeded in involving everyone (in the factory) in the creative process from the ordinary workers to the leaders (p. 31). This is something that the Aranyak of Bangladesh may have been aiming for (at least to stop the landlords from co-opting the process) and did not know how to implement, but the Yimin Factory's amateur drama movement went one step further. According to Judd (1983), "The leadership facilitated the creative work by arranging time and other resources and by giving encouragement," and "both the leadership and fellow workers had to approve the final product" (p. 31). This sounds like a joint production which brought pleasure and self-esteem to both parties, leaders and ordinary workers. This had to be recognized as quite a feat. Just the idea of organizing an amateur drama unit within a North American factory would possibly be seen as some kind of political threat, or ignored as so much foolishness (a way to get out of working). It certainly would not be viewed as improving the workplace. However, as a Chinese student at the University of Alberta pointed out from his own experience in a performing arts unit in a factory during the Cultural Revolution by being allowed to practice and play musical instruments, sometimes the other workers were jealous of his rather generous allotment of time off from working (Wei-gun Dai, personal communication, April 30, 1989). Also, he said that it did become rather boring (imaginatively stifling) to have to play the same songs over and over (Wei-gun Dai, personal communication, April 30, 1989).

Yet, people's theatre, in its most spontaneous forms, that is, when it is controlled by the people who use it, fosters the imagination and makes possible alternative ways of thinking and acting in community: Although this may or may not have occurred in China, Bangladesh people's theatre may have made possible grassroots' organizations whose involvement in the economic and social infrastructure has led to solutions that previously eluded the middle and upper classes. A mistrust of folk culture in China meant that the arts became rigorously controlled during the Cultural Revolution, and this may have hampered the development of the critical/emancipatory kind of thinking which has emerged in Bangladesh (for instance, in the case of an organization like the Grameen Bank).

The following example is a conscious effort to break down the bureaucratic procedures and narrowly defined controls that have inhibited the examination and acceptance of alternative and innovative ideas. Bryan Johnson (1988) reports on a rural money lending institution, the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, in which "a whopping 98 per cent of the loans have been repaid, and many landless, illiterate borrowers are on their seventh loan" (p. A10). Bankers on bicycles have radically altered the lives of 350,000 Bangladeshis by putting more than $50 million into the hands of "the poorest people in Asia's poorest country." The loans average between $75 and $250, which Johnson points out is enough to buy "a cow, a rice-husking machine, string to make fishing nets, a few drygoods to open a grocery shop, or a set of blacksmith tools." The innovative idea to set up the bank came from Dr. Muhammad Yunus, a former Chittagong University economics professor, who had spent years "pleading with traditional banks to lend to the poor" (Johnson, 1988:A10).

Webster (1984) asks, "Isn't development all about economic growth? But the sociologist might reply, this raises the question as to what is meant by 'development': what, for example, do the ordinary members of society think development is?" (p. 10). Webster (1984) goes on to argue that "if people themselves do not think that an opportunity exists, whatever prompting the economist may give, they are unlikely to want to make a move" (p. 10). In China, the moves made possible to the participants of the Yimin Factory were positive, although it is very difficult to penetrate the mystification which still exists about these cultural activities. In Western terms, Mao's revolutionary model operas were not necessarily productive of the kind of self-determination or individual initiatives that the arts have made possible elsewhere.

The Grameen Bank workers had to deal with many of the concerns that Aranyak has also had to pursue; for instance, when the Grameen Bank took an office in Shakherchar, Bangladesh, "the puzzled villagers…had no money and few possessions, they reached the only logical conclusion: the man from Grameen Bank had come to steal their women" (Johnson, 1988:A10). These fears were quickly allayed through the bank's interaction with the community members and with the bank's well-placed trust in the people who know best about their own lives. This is a not a shared feeling evidenced with the higher-ups involved in the planning of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. In this Bangladesh village, the outcome of the participation of the Bangladeshis in their own economic development is that there are now two small businesses worth about $1,200. One of the landless who now owns a store said that this would never have worked before because none of her neighbors had money to purchase store-bought items and now they do (Johnson, 1988:A10).

This innovative economic loan system has merged free enterprise with socialism in order to fit the community and addressed the close relationship between cultural values and the economic context. Bank borrowers must belong to a village group, engage in dialogue, and come to a collective agreement before the bank will grant any loan. The bank has also taken on an educational (transformative) focus in the community. More importantly, the bank has put the onus and responsibility for decision-making back on the once voiceless (landless) members of the community, and consequently, they now have a larger measure of control over their own lives.

Some people like Yunus are trying to offset the narrow thinkers who are brought up to have "standardized expectations" (Hemming, 1980:35) about the possibilities for the poor, but there are still too few of these humane innovators around. Narrow thinkers are themselves victims, says Hemming (1980), of an educational system which has overtrained the intellectual, logical functions and neglected the development of the intuitive, affective, and social aspects of thought. An educational system with a strong central authority imposing restrictions on the imagination of the students or "knowers" has much in common with the Chinese Cultural Revolution's mistrust and rigorous manipulation (and/or exploitation) of the arts. Yunus' principles of listening to the people, of collectively organizing them, and of building trust among them has fostered and strengthened the bonds of community and also helped to bring a measure of prosperity to the poor. These humane principles also surface in the people's theatre collective, the Aranyak of Bangladesh.

Contrast the Yimin Factory's amateur drama movement's goals with Aranyak's goal to mobilize the landless without building a dependency upon Aranyak's organizers and to develop individual landless animateurs, that is, persons capable of analysis, conscientization and organization (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:45). One of the major obstacles in Bangladesh is that there is a constant threat from the landlords to co-opt the process and to suppress, by violent threats and action, any cultural groups which organize among the landless.

Marx's notion of dialectics can be seen operating in Mao's allowance, *in committee*, for the expression of contradictory voices which give rise to new ideas and new ways of looking at things. In order to disrupt the social order as little as possible, while change is occurring, it would seem important to bring as many voices and contradictions out in the open, that is, into the "same cultural space." However, when that cultural space is itself rigorously constrained by a dominant ideological perspective, the possibilities for movement, that is, for the participants to act in real life to change the system, are nullified. Even though, according to Judd (1983), the factory officials voiced the same kinds of opinions about the activities surrounding the revolutionary model operas and their outcomes, this is still largely a hegemonic expression. Wei-gun Dai (personal communication, April 30, 1989), a musician who performed in a factory situation during the Cultural Revolution, said he felt more able to think in critical and emancipatory ways after his coming to Canada. There was no allowance made for personal criticism of such a coercive system at the time, and in that physical location. This is something that happened no more successfully in the Yimin Factory than it did in the case of the Aranyak of Bangladesh, who never even attempted to organize the landlords, and by ignoring them, made an equally grave error in judgement.

Aranyak's inability to gain support from the landlords, who already know the power of theatre and make every attempt to suppress it among the landless, is an insurmountable obstacle. It is without a doubt the integration of the arts into society that is China's greatest strength when it comes to centrally-controlled social transformation. Although Aranyak was able to organize the landless, the landless did not have the economic muscle with which to influence the larger social system. The Aranyak failed to increase the human interaction between the landless and the landlords except by violent and what can be regarded, perhaps, as somewhat inadequate and inappropriate means.

The people's theatre of Bangladesh and the Yimin Factory amateur drama unit both imbued their participants with a heightened degree of self-esteem and self-awareness, thus aiding them in becoming more socially competent, but through very different circumstances. People's theatre recognizes that people determine their own fates by their perceptions of themselves and by their experiences with *others*, and therefore, it encourages the individual to be an active agent in his or her own learning and to seek out others as a form of power (solidarity). The way to measure whether people's theatre has been effective is to determine, first, whether it has changed the perceptions of the individual about him- or herself, second, if it has changed the experiences that individual now has with *others*, *and* third, others perceptions about the individual.

The landless peasants of Bangladesh began to recognize that they could do something about their oppression, if they could get organized, and for them, at least, it seems that heightened self-esteem and self-awareness go hand in hand (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:44). Unfortunately, self-esteem and self-awareness have not changed the peasants' precarious social situation. The troupe's work would be more effective if they teamed up with someone like Yunus and his banking organization, *and* if they could find a way to close the social and economic gap between the landlords and the landless. Or they might be more effective if as artists they found their way into the formal school system, which educates those members of society (the middle-class) who are often called upon to respond to development concerns.

...The Intermediary Stage: Organizing for Effective/Affective Response

With his "spirit changes matter" concept, Mao recognized that change, with repercussions in the economic and political spheres, begins in the individual's spirit, that is, in the affective, intuitive, imaginative, social, and creative aspects of a person's mind. He also understood the importance of marrying organizational strength to the artist's power for manipulation of cultural symbols.

In China, the workers of the Yimin Factory culturally enriched their workplace as impressive numbers joined in the amateur drama movement (Judd, 1983:28-34). The workplace was turned into a very effective cultural organization, and women's involvement in the arts was promoted, one area where the amateur drama movement was particularly successful. What is sadly lacking is documentation from the people about their perceptions. It has been reported that the working attitude in the factory changed from "lack of enthusiasm" to "conscientiousness," but the factory was a special case. Despite the "publicly stated guidelines that amateur activities should be strictly spare-time," the factory allowed working hours to be used for the amateur literary and art activities, especially during the very heavy performance schedule of the Granny Li Team. Not only was there added prestige for those workers who were involved in the amateur drama movement, everyone in the factory participated, from the minimal level of occasional group singing to the extremes of the Granny Li Team, who had performed almost six hundred times by 1976 and had given over one hundred talks. This allowance for literary and cultural activities changed attitudes about work and also encouraged a feeling of well-being in the control it allowed people over their "production," an indication of "moral incentives" vs "material incentives" (Judd, 1983:28-34).

It seems that when the British were perceived by the Bangladeshis as a common enemy, both the rich and the poor of Bangladesh were able to organize and to communicate. Mao could have been arguing the case for Bangladesh as well when he said that the arts "operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy" (as quoted in Mackerras, 1983:156). Perhaps Mao placed himself, subconsciously, in the role of the enemy in order to unite the two warring classes, for as he said, "the bourgeoisie always shuts out proletarian literature and art, however great their artistic merit" (as quoted in Mackerras, 1983:157).

The questions which come to mind and which may shed some additional light on the relationship between the arts community (people's theatre and folk culture) and economically sustainable development in a developing country are at least twofold: 1) Is it possible that Aranyak's work in Bangladesh in rural conscientization and in supporting popular struggle over a ten-year period (1972-1982) paved the way for the kind of innovation and humane economic development of the rural poor for which the Grameen Bank was established by government order in 1983; and 2) In what way could people's theatre be used by a financial institution such as the Grameen Bank to extend and to enhance its work with the rural poor?

The Grameen Bank originated in 1976 as an action-research project in an area near Chittagong University "to test the hypothesis that if the poor are supplied with working capital they can generate productive self-employment without external assistance" (Hossain, 1988:9). According to Hossain (1988), some of the factors which have contributed to the excellent recovery of Grameen Bank loans include a strong management system developed by the bank's founder-managing director, including decentralization of power and responsibilities, and the intensive training and selection of bank workers who are "strongly motivated by the dedication of the managing director and regard their work as an opportunity to serve the poor rather than simply to earn an income for themselves" (pp. 7, 10).

What is interesting is that the director of the bank and his bank workers seem very much like the founders of Aranyak:

> Many animateurs and popular theatre activists in Third World countries are middle-class intellectuals by virtue of their education. But their alienation from the Third World state—and of course from the First World which has determined the nature of these Third World states—is profound. They have problems with their regimes, with their own elites, with militarization; and they also have problems with the organized urban Left. A number have returned to their villages and to poverty, turning their backs upon their assured careers among the petit bourgeoisie. All their energies are directed to change at the very base of society through rural conscientization; in the short term to fight exploiting landlords, beatings and expropriations; in the long term to overthrow a continuing system of exploitation. They run risks. Their only protection is from the most vulnerable, the landless. (Etherton, 1985:33)

This type of educated middle-class activist can also be found in so-called First and Second World countries, Canada and the United States, for example, in the areas of social justice, popular education, and popular theatre. These people have often turned their backs on higher-ups in institutions for answers to alleviate poverty and human suffering and to work for sustainable development. Michael Etherton (1985) puts it well:

> Many intellectuals, including engineers, architects, agriculturalists and artists, are increasingly critical of the institutions of their states—institutions to which their abilities and privileged education gives them access. They are also critical of the privileged education, that very structuring of knowledge in the technologically advanced world. Technology today has all the answers; but in a much deeper sense technology and its high culture has no answers at all. (p. 33)

In this sense, all eyes will likely be on China during the next decade as the kinds of emancipatory and critical impulses of the people meet increasing governmental resistance.

Undeniably, Yunus, as an economics professor and founder of the Grameen Bank, is assisted by an educated middle-class in that many of his students during the pilot experiment of the project near Chittagong University have become a dedicated cadre of mid-level officers in the bank (Hossain, 1988:53). The "Grameen Bank concept of generating self-employment for the poor through credit without collateral" and with "an approach that keeps overdues and loan losses at close to zero" is one that is arrived at in a collaborative fashion: a professor's experimentation with innovative ideas, supported by the university and by the banks (albeit begrudgingly), and through his work with the poor to facilitate their taking direct advantage of the developing entrepreneurial activities (Hossain, 1988:7, 11). There is likely no way that the Grameen Bank concept, which originated as a small action-research project, could have been undertaken without support from a financial institution. This support was not easily accessed as the bank, when approached by the professor on behalf of the poor, at first refused credit because of lack of collateral. After much persuasion, and of a kind that was not possible by the poor themselves, the bank agreed as long as the professor guaranteed recovery. It was this experience which led to the idea of the project and "development of an appropriate mechanism for ensuring timely recovery of loans" (Hossain, 1988:23). Yunus proposed to the managing director of the agricultural development bank (BKB) that he be given the responsibility of operating a branch under the bank director's guidance. This pilot experiment, in which the professor was allowed to set up a suboffice of the bank to experiment with his ideas and to discern the "appropriate mechanism for the delivery of credit to the poor" (March 1978), was certainly out of the ordinary as viewed by the banks themselves and was the starting point of the Grameen Bank Project (Hossain, 1988:23). From this point, Yunus' plan was to see whether the project could be replicated in a wider area. After further modifications and development of the project through experimentation, which resulted in 98 percent recovery of loans at the due date, "lack of enthusiasm from the participating banks constrained its further expansion" (Hossain, 1988:23). Eventually, a loan was arranged from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (FAD), and the project was further extended. It is likely that without Yunus' persistence the project would never have survived. In September, 1983, a government ordinance transformed the project into the Grameen Bank, "a specialized financial institution for the rural poor" (Hossain, 1988:23). By July, 1986, the ordinance provided an ownership pattern whereby "the Grameen Bank borrower-shareholders would subscribe to 75 percent and the government to 25 percent" (Hossain, 1988:23-24). The Grameen Bank concept has also been set up in such a way that actually benefits the target group of the rural disadvantaged groups by fighting the banks' requirement of collateral, which the poor find difficult to provide, their procedures for filling in application forms and completing other formalities for obtaining loans which are "too cumbersome for the illiterate poor," the bank's preference for handling large loans rather than the petty loans which the poor need, and ensuring a supply of capital at "reasonable" rates of interest (Hossain, 1988:20, 22). The Grameen Bank has progressed at such a rapid pace that by "February 1987 it had opened 298 branches and mobilized nearly 250,000 households from 6 percent of the villages in the country," and it had expanded its "coverage of women, one of the most disadvantaged groups in rural society" to approximately "98 percent of the new members mobilized during 1986" (Hossain, 1988:9). As the Grameen Bank now operates, "the local elites realize that the initiative is for the benefit of the poor only, and the poor understand that in order to receive loans they will have to organize themselves in groups and associations and interact with each other" (Hossain, 1988:25). It is not clear what the reaction of the elites to certain operational procedures of the bank that keep out the economically better off (interestingly enough, this is in opposition to the usual preferential treatment shown these people by banks), for example: 1) landownership status of a household can be concealed, however, the target group is so poor that its members "can be easily identified by such characteristics as their appearance and clothing"; 2) the formation of groups and compulsory weekly meetings keep away the relatively affluent who "would feel ashamed to mix with the extreme poor on a regular basis"; 3) the seasonal income for households that own more than 0.5 acre of cultivated land and which makes it difficult to maintain repayment of a loan in weekly installments as required by the bank also "checks the tendency on the part of the non-target group, whose main occupation is farming, to apply for Grameen Bank loans, which they would take mainly for the purpose of crop cultivation"; 4) "although the bank charges the same nominal rate of interest as the other specialized credit institutions (16 percent a year), the effective cost of the loan to the borrower is higher" because each "bank member has to deposit 5 percent of the loan in the Group Fund...and 25 percent of the interest charges in the Emergency Fund," which comes to about 33 percent; and 5) since "the higher-income group has better job opportunities and higher value for leisure, such high-cost loans" are also less attractive to them than to the poor (Hossain, 1988:45-47).

It is significant that in December of 1971 a group of middle-class Bangladesh youth formed an amateur group of about thirty people who worked in other jobs during the day (in schools, banks, offices, and factories) and came together each evening or on the weekends to rehearse or to give performances for the rural peasants who make up 90 percent of Bangladesh's population. Aranyak's founders, "deeply affected" by their experience in the War of Liberation in 1971 and the culmination of a nationalist struggle of the fifties and sixties after continuing victimization by Pakistan's military rulers, had seen songs and drama once again play a mobilizing force for the people (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36). However, despite Bangladesh gaining Independence, Aranyak's founders felt that this mobilizing effort was rather ineffectual: 1) as capital increasingly penetrated the villages during the period of 1950 to 1970, people's theatre became more of a commodity and part-time traditional performers stopped performing altogether or became employed on a full-time commercial basis; and 2) the social and economic infrastructure remained intact, the economy remained under foreign control, and a small comprador class monopolized any and all benefits of Independence (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36-7). Aranyak's founders, along with the peasants and workers, had hoped that the liberation war "would lead to a true revolution, one in which land would be redistributed, other feudal structures transformed, and Bangladesh's economy taken over by the people of Bangladesh" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36-7). In their early attempts to perform for the people during the seventies, to fight for change, Aranyak soon realized that their own understanding "represented old politics—urban-based left-wing groups preaching revolt to the masses, a kind of political pamphleteering, of manipulating people with slogans and lectures" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:36). This type of intervention proved to have little or no sustainable effect. A point which deserves note and further research is that Aranyak during this time and for the next decade had taken their plays out of Dhaka and put them on in rural areas, locations which likely are now presently being served by the Grameen Bank. Why is this significant? As Etherton (1985) points out,

> In the struggle by the people at the grass-roots for a just and fair society the folk culture is crucially important. The songs, music, stories, dances, masquerades, give life to the emerging organizations among the poorest. It is not a question of preserving a culture, but of transforming it into a culture of liberation. This becomes a means of sharing collectively deep feelings about a world which is individually experienced. These arts transcend barriers of communication when people come together. If people stop coming together to sing, make music, tell stories, celebrate the seasons of the year and the rites of passage—then they will stop coming together. This coming together is the foundation on which grass-roots consciousness is built. (p. 33)

Similarly, in the case of the Yimin Factory experience, it is likely that grassroots consciousness can be diminished by rigorously controlling the means of communication and denying the arts potential for transcending barriers of communication. In such a coercive system, it is up to the individual to change him- or herself to fit the system and not vice versa.

In the case of the Grameen Bank (it is interesting to note that *grameen* means village), its success has gone far beyond anything that was capable by Aranyak; but in building a stable and an appropriate institutional and organizational structure with the capacity to maintain the present high morale of the staff, it was built on elements which in many ways parallel Aranyak's own experience: elements like taking the bank to the people; intensive interaction of bank staff with the borrowers; and devising and delivering interactions in such a way which has not been "influenced by the widespread corruptive practices elsewhere in the banking system" and in other models or systems imposed from one world upon another (Hossain, 1988:11, 12, 14, 54). Indeed, "one of the lessons of Grameen Bank is that an *appropriate institution* can be developed only after considerable experimentation, through a thorough understanding of the physical and socio-economic environments [my emphasis]" (Hossain, 1988:11). This in itself requires getting at the people's own way of knowing, of listening to them, and changing the system or model to fit the needs of the group (culture).

As an "innovative credit program," the Grameen Bank has been visited by high-level government officials from Nepal, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, and the Solomon Islands and by nongovernmental organizations and interested individuals from Kenya, Tanzania, and Rwanda (Hossain, 1988:80-81). The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) organized a study tour of the bank for government representatives, bankers, and female program leaders of the region; "Thus there is widespread interest in trying the Grameen Bank approach to credit in other countries" (Hossain, 1988:81). Hossain sums up its replicability in other countries, a belief which could be applied to many institutions be they theatre programs, schools, banks, and so forth: "An approach or method cannot be replicated in a fixed, prescriptionary sense" (1988:81). Everything from development to education to the arts is seen as culturally-relative. This "revolutionary" idea may be the wave of the future.

The question for further research is whether Yunus and his staff, the Aranyak troupe, and others like them are simply products of their schooling or of the times in which they live or have they some extent been influenced by the possibilities inherent in the cultural resurgence of the very poor, those once voiceless, the disenfranchised, the oppressed themselves. This would seem to be very much in opposition to looking to members of high culture, the elite, and so forth for the answers to developmental, economic, and social concerns. Etherton (1985) replies,

> More and more activists believe that a truly revolutionary process is that which is initiated by the vast, landless, rubbished, rural base, stretching across the Third World, within whose own transforming folk traditions the worth and dignity of each woman, man and child can be reasserted. Raising consciousness, therefore, among these masses involves, as well, raising consciousness in the First and Second Worlds: a matching of understanding and a new knowledge. (p. 33)

This is not to say that the knowledge and support of those already established institutions of the First and Second Worlds are without value. Most certainly it is in the integration of all these worlds and in increasing communication between them that many more innovative answers can be found.

What has been the effect of Aranyak's workshops? The most significant impact has been the change in people's consciousness, a change that may or may not have paved the way for the Grameen Bank Project, and by engaging the grassroots and helping to build up the organizational base, people's theatre may eventually become part of the Grameen Bank's method of working. Why can this claim be made? By producing plays in over 100 villages in Bangladesh, Aranyak's discovery has been that once the people, the oppressed themselves,

> produced a play and found their lives portrayed in these plays, they became much more conscious of the exploitation and victimization which was keeping them down. More than that, they began to recognize that they could do something about the exploitation and manipulation if they could get organized. Part of this growing awareness was a heightened self-confidence, an awareness that they could do something—they could make a play and they could also organize to make demands and fight against oppression. (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:44-45)

Aranyak's future program is to 1) encourage groups in the same area to come together on a regular basis to exchange experience, skills, and ideas among themselves, 2) organize regional and national festivals and workshops in which landless groups come together and plan the development of a people's theatre movement, and 3) build contacts with other animateurs and activists working in the villages (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:45). "By promoting horizontal contacts and mutual support among the landless groups and by encouraging the development of landless animateurs" and by creating "links between the village-based work and the bigger social and political events of the country," Aranyak senses that their work has really just begun (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:45).

It is in this researcher's opinion, by studying both people's theatre and the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, that an integrated and mutually beneficial approach may serve the people in Bangladesh even further in the future and may also point out to the First and

Second Worlds just how such an integration is beneficial. Many recent studies have reported that in Bangladesh "during the 1970s, two-thirds to three-fourths of the rural population suffered from absolute poverty and the magnitude of poverty had deepened compared with that of the 1960s" (Hossain, 1988:15). In 1981-1982, the proportion of the poor population was still about 60 percent, "which must be considered high by any standard" (Hossain, 1988:16). The Grameen Bank's standard operational procedures, which have evolved throughout the 1976-83 period in a process of continuous interaction with the poor, is still having some difficulties delivering to the poorest of the poor: 1) most members of the target group are illiterate and are shy about coming to the banks; and 2) despite the fact that the bank workers walk or bicycle in order to bring the banking services to the target group's doorsteps (due to underdeveloped roads and transport facilities), some important factors have still made it *impossible* for agricultural wage laborers, the poorest among the poor, to be served by the Grameen Bank (Hossain, 1988:25, 48). Hossain (1988) says this may be due to

> the Grameen Bank emphasis on investment in activities that generate regular income. Wage laborers are timid abut coming forward when a new branch is being established because they are used to working for others and are fearful of venturing into activities that need some entrepreneurial skills. They would like to join the bank later, when they have gathered sufficient courage by observing the experience of others, but by that time it is difficult to enter a group. Membership in a group is permanent unless a member leaves voluntarily. A Grameen Bank branch has a fixed number of workers and a bank worker has the capacity to serve 200-250 members. (p. 48)

The issue is whether the Grameen Bank and its services "can be expanded to a wide-enough scale to have a significant effect on the alleviation of rural poverty in Bangladesh" (Hossain, 1988:10-11). This ~~is~~ despite the fact that the Grameen Bank may

> indirectly contribute to increases in the income of those agricultural wage laborers who are left out. Members who use their loans to pursue non-farm activities withdraw from the agricultural labor market, thus reducing the supply of agricultural workers. This increases the number of days of

> agricultural employment available for the remaining workers and puts an upward pressure on the wage rate, thereby increasing total wage earnings for nonparticipants within the bank's target group. (Hossain, 1988:48)

It would seem that Aranyak's success in working with the landless, who were once "resigned to their situation, explaining their impoverishment as the result of bad luck or the will of Allah," who saw no contradiction in their society, and who were on the whole "passive and skeptical about making any change in their lives," could be put to good use at this stage of Grameen Bank's set-up in a village (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:44). In other words, Aranyak's techniques could aid in the initial set-up of the organizational base of the Grameen Bank so that the bank would be able to serve its target group more directly, that is, the extreme poor, through storytelling, role-play, and people's theatre, which could heighten the extreme poor's self-confidence and offer them an understanding and rehearsal of the coming possibilities of the bank. This would certainly fit in with Aranyak's mandate, which is "to mobilize the landless without building a dependence on Aranyak," and fit in with the Grameen Bank's onus upon at least two factors: 1) the provision of loans for activities that generate regular incomes; and 2) the genuine credit need of the poor for profitable income-earning opportunities perceived by them (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:45; Hossain, !988:53). Also, Aranyak could benefit as well from observing and learning more about the Grameen Bank's recruitment of employees. Kidd and Rashid note that Aranyak as "a middle-class, urban-based group...recognize the limitations of their organization and the vacillating potential of their team members who may lose interest and drop out" (1984:45). Bank employees of the Grameen bank, on the other hand,

> are recruited after careful scrutiny of their knowledge of the living conditions of the rural poor and interest in serving them. Before employees are assigned to a branch, they're given intensive training for six months, mostly in the field [where they also] observe and study the socioeconomic conditions in the countryside and the needs of the poor. (Hossain, 1988:53)

There is no reason why people's theatre activists would not benefit greatly from knowledge and training in the study of socioeconomic conditions in the targeted area (of a kind which is deemed important for bank workers):

> The employees are then sent to existing branches to work as trainees. During this time they observe the operation of the bank, assist their counterparts in the branch, and write case studies on the life of the rural poor.... Only those who pass the test of hard work are sent to their new duty stations as independent workers. Such intensive training helps build a dedicated cadre of...employees who are really the key to the success of the Grameen Bank. (Hossain, 1988:53-54)

Also, when the Grameen Bank decides to open a branch, "the first task of the branch manager is to prepare a socioeconomic report covering the geography, economy, demography, transport and communication infrastructure, and political power structure of the area to be served by the branch" (Hossain, 1988:25). This kind of report would seem to be a good example of the information necessary for the start-up and maintenance of any institution, for example, perhaps there is need of such a report in First World countries' schools and other developmental and institutional settings, formal and informal, including people's theatre groups. In Bangladesh, it would seem helpful if the Aranyak troupe's staff might work with a branch manager in the extension of such a report to comment on the organizational and communication infrastructure of ongoing or revivable folk culture and people's theatre activities.

This is especially pertinent as beginning in 1984 the Grameen Bank introduced a social development program called "Sixteen Decisions." Despite the laudable fact that

> Many members know the "Sixteen Decisions" by heart, including among other resolutions: "We must bring prosperity to our families. We shall not live in dilapidated houses. We shall have decent houses for ourselves. We shall cultivate vegetables all year round. We shall keep the family size small. We shall make sure that our children get education. We shall use pit-latrines. We shall drink tubewell water or boil water. We shall neither give dowry nor receive it. We shall move towards taking up big collective enterprises to earn more. We shall always help each other." ("Story of the Grameen Bank," 1988:16)

What is similar here to the Yimin Factory experience is that by having the bank members commit to memory such a refrain and thus limit themselves to having their lives determined by higher-ups in the bank, there may be a danger that such a narrow artistic line of cultural enrichment, however laudable, like the repetitive revolutionary model operas and their manipulation of cultural symbols in China, may in turn lead to cultural stasis.

As Kidd and Rashid (1984) point out, in Bangladesh, "landless drama groups have been hired by government agencies for short-term contract work as propaganda agents for government"; however,

> These plays exhort peasants to "plan their families" and "build latrines" (as if these victim-blaming measures will be on their own without structural changes transform the livelihood of landless laborers) and to "participate in self-help projects on canal building" (the landless laborers do the work and the landlords, who can make use of the irrigation canals, get the benefits). (p. 45)

There is at present no research to confirm whether the Grameen Bank has attempted to work with and/or integrate such a social development program with cultural animateurs like the Aranyak troupe and their landless drama groups. At present, it would seem that the Grameen Bank has limited their scope to physical training and participation in parades which is not compulsory, "but in the field their observance has become a requirement for receiving a loan" (Hossain, 1988:27). As Hossain points out, "With the introduction of 'Sixteen Decisions,' the Grameen Bank has moved into an overall development program for the poor," but without cultural animation, it may be missing an integral component in the bank's "laudable" but narrowly-defined economic/social interests:

> In the long run, better housing and sanitation, and increased consumption of vegetables and fruits improve the health of the borrower, increase his [or her] productivity and income, and hence ensure better recovery of loans.... Recently, children's education has been promoted through active help in establishing center schools, distributing textbooks, and setting up children's savings and funds, since basic skills in

> reading, writing, and arithmetic are required for *increasing the productivity of labor*. [my emphasis] (Hossain, 1988:27)

The real dangers and obstacles, "including the victimization and repression of cultural groups" and of their abilities to interpret their experience, as evidenced in China, have yet to be overcome (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:45). People's theatre's tangible benefits, which occur by "promoting horizontal contacts and mutual support groups and by encouraging the development of landless animateurs drawn from the groups," may mean sustaining "an animational program for ten years or more" (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:45). It would also seem that people's theatre in Bangladesh has yet to be used in a formal literacy program following the model proposed by Boal but in a way that is made appropriate for the Bangladesh rural poor. So far, the Aranyak's standard development workshop in an area is much too short at

> two weeks long. . .this is only enough time to get organization-building started. While the experience does open [the landless'] eyes to the possibility of change and the importance of organizing, it is too short to solidify a group. Once the animateur leaves there is a power vacuum which the landlords attempt to occupy. The landless remain heavily dependent on them—for jobs and loans—and this dependence can be manipulated. (Kidd and Rashid, 1984:45)

The Grameen Bank has demonstrated that 1) "working capital can be provided to the poor through financial institutions," 2) "the vital importance of credit as an entry point for a program of social and economic development," 3) "if a program is to have an appeal for people living in abject poverty, it must offer them clear and immediate prospects for economic environment," and 4) "it is easy to sell other interventions for social development, however unconventional that they may appear (as demonstrated by the acceptance of physical training and parades by traditional Muslim women), once improvements in standards of living are demonstrated" (Hossain, 1988:20,80). Hossain (1988) points out, the "development of human capital involves a long-term program" and the Grameen Bank's groups are permanent, that is, for life (p. 20). Could Aranyak's work create literacy programs and (appropriate and relevant produced by the people for the people and with the people) textbooks and to address and revitalize rural poor (folk) culture in conjunction with the schools supported by the Grameen Bank, regional and national cultural events (enriching the life of the Bangladeshis and exportable to other countries), and a long-term people's theatre movement in Bangladesh? It is interesting to note how little formal education is necessary for the rural poor to access the bank loans, for example, simply "learning to make signatures" (Hossain, 1988:26). The Grameen Bank's targeted groups would serve as good research subjects in a study of how appropriate answers to "perceived needs" development of educational facilities are being set up and delivered. What are the long-term outcomes? One of the main problems that this researcher would like to point out between a likely integration of the work of Aranyak with the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh is the suspicion which sometimes exists between arts (cultural) critical/emancipatory knowledge and empirical/analytical knowledge (for instance, economics). It might be a very interesting and significant experiment if these two groups could be persuaded to work together. Perhaps one of the benefits would be to show the rest of the world how these two knowledge bases, or ways of knowing, are mutually beneficial, and bring into closer view the culture of the bankers and the rural poor. Truly integrated work between an arts and a financial organization has an even greater potential than one or the other working at cross purposes and/or ignoring the work of the other: For instance, in the case of the Grameen Bank, rather than relating to the people in a didactic or "banking" way, by teaming up with Aranyak could extend (and not ultimately limit) the coming together of the rural poor in ways seen as legitimate only to the bankers. Aranyak, whose own work up to approximately 1982 suffered from the same one-sided communication in that it was putting on plays *for* the people: truly "working *with* the people, building up the people's capacity to…do their own analysis of their situation, and starting a more sustained process of conscientization and organizing" is crucial, if only to negate in the eyes of the elite and high culture their perception of the poor's capacity for self-determination which may never be erased otherwise.

...The Final Stage: Dealing With Disclosures and Moving On

It is not enough for people to attend performances of people's theatre, it is crucial that they are active participants; and this applies in all the areas of the arts as they are ways of knowing, and they must be experienced first-hand. As Kidd and Rashid (1984) state, when Aranyak simply performed for the masses, it had little effect: "the spectators remained the passive consumers of someone else's revolution; they had no involvement in shaping and discussing the issue or in creating the play" (p. 37). Mao, too, understood the importance of theatre as a transformative disseminator of culture, in his case, of "proletarian hegemony," and he encouraged active participation. The Yimin Factory amateur drama unit was one of the most successful of his experiments: "In some cases, everyone took a turn on stage, blurring the performer-audience distinction" (Judd, 1983:28, 31). This blurring between the performer and audience is crucial, for as Robinson (1988) argues, it is "that interactive process which is part of the generative process of culture itself." The true dialectic of artistic creation is 'between doing it and perceiving it" (Robinson, 1988), and this argues for the human being as an active agent in his/her learning. Yet, one of the outcomes of Mao's suppression of traditional and folk amateur theatre in China is that presently "traditional forms are in crisis, their audiences dwindling or their continued value to a modernizing society called into question" (Mackerras and Wichmann, 1983:6). What is still unclear is how to "preserve a unique and cultural legacy" while attempting social transformation (Mackerras and Wichmann, 1983:6).

It is crucial that we argue for the arts collectively as a generic area of human experience, and one which must be a part of any plan for social transformation. The Chinese experience shows that positive results can be achieved when the arts are supported by society's leadership; but it also shows that it is very difficult to penetrate the people's own way of knowing (about their experience) when a hegemonic ideological perspective is imposed by a central authority, in essence, when the arts are exploited by such an authority for hegemonic purposes. Instead of ignoring the Bengali landowners as Aranyak did in Bangladesh, Mao, acting as China's principal landowner, made sure that the leadership fully endorsed the integration of the arts into society. But we must not forget how ideologically rigid Mao's perspective has been in its allowance for real change, that is, for reflection, action, and movement among its members. In the Bangladesh experience, Aranyak has shown that if the arts are appropriated by another class for their own purposes, then all that a people's theatre collective can do is remedial work which is constantly in danger of being co-opted by those with more economic and political muscle, in other words, the landlords. And if those with more economic and political muscle happen to be anything like the people that Hemming (1980) warns about, heaven help us all:

> The narrow bureaucrat who sees people as items in some schedule or other, the planners who treat people as objects, the mechanistic thinkers, the "expert" who lays down confident opinions that are nothing but the logical conclusions of a one-track mind, the civil servant busy composing incomprehensible instructions, the committee member who thinks everything is solved once you get the words right. (p. 35)

I cannot help but draw a parallel here with what Robinson (1988) and so many others have been saying all along, that is, if we do not get the arts back into their rightful place in schools and society (and into our own heads), then everything the arts will have to offer will simply be appropriated by the dominant class for their pleasure or will be reduced to being only a kind of "remedial" experience for the marginalized. When the arts are fully recognized as ways of knowing, ways in which we make sense of our experience, and ways that we conceptualize that experience symbolically, and when we have integrated the arts into society, for everyone to make use of, then perhaps we will no longer have the unimaginative running the show. The arts are ways of conceiving and putting into practice our ideas, in effect, our ideals; they help us to form a positive perception of ourselves, and they can aid us in becoming more socially competent. To ignore the arts is to impede the next generation of human beings' capacity for social interaction and for improving the aesthetic nature of the natural and man-made environments, in other words, for affecting the possibility of creating humane relationships with *others*, and, ultimately, for enjoying life (Hemming, 1980:35).

In China's case, the amateur theatre movement was organized from the top down, as opposed to Aranyak's middle-class youth attempting a bottom-up organization, and perhaps, it had a more effective though short-term payoff. As Robertson (1984) has said, "We shall never know what the long term results of a continued Cultural Revolution would have been" (p. 340). However, from a Western point of view, it might be difficult to see the payoff since individual initiative was sacrificed to form a communal development process. And yet, this holistic communal development process may have needed more significance in the Aranyak experience in Bangladesh (just as the individual initiative suffered in China); rather, Aranyak's hope was to develop "individual" leaders from the people who could impact the economic and political sphere by animating the culture of the landless and getting them to organize themselves across horizontal lines with other landless groups. This now appears rather an impossible task without the support of other groups, organizations, and institutions working with the landless, such as the Grameen Bank. Aranyak has been unsuccessful, especially when contrasted with the Yimin Factory amateur drama unit whose major success was in the organizational work "which allowed it to sustain and develop the movement" (Judd, 1983:31). The Yimin Factory workplace was certainly culturally enriched. It seems that the workers involved experienced a heightened sense of their own power over production and to a narrowly-defined extent over their own lives, though there is inadequate documentation in this area, especially from the ordinary workers themselves. It is even more difficult to get these same workers to express themselves freely on this subject. Likely, it is clear that they felt better about working since they were fully engaged during work and off-work hours in creation, dialogue, make-believe, and play. The Granny Li Team was able to overcome the previous dominant cultural ideology which otherwise might have informed and constrained them to stop performing.

The question really is whether the Yimin Factory's way of organizing is more effective and more valid than Aranyak's of Bangladesh, which appeals to the Western bias that sees poetic justice in the landless violently opposing their landlords. Unfortunately, this violence only creates a defensive reaction in the landlords.

Did the Yimin Factory amateur drama unit raise productivity in the workplace? This question is not so easily answered as the factory's output was mainly luxury goods for the export market, such as, expensive cookies, chocolates, and so forth (Judd, 1983:29). During the late Cultural Revolution, there was an "unprecedented emphasis on ideological, and especially artistic, factors as powerful motivating forces for social and economic development" (Judd, 1983:32). At this time, the Yimin Factory was producing hardtack for export to Vietnam (Judd, 1983:29). According to Judd (1983), the participants in the amateur drama movement (and she reportedly spoke to only one ordinary worker) were not only culturally enriched, but their productivity improved. It was more ideologically prudent to improve production when the factory was sending hardtack to Vietnam. The workers changed in that they kept on working despite ill health or injury, and they changed their attitudes about social development, for instance, "one middle-aged woman recounted how studying *The Red Detachment of Women* enabled her to send three children to the countryside (the norm being only one)" (Judd, 1983:32). Despite the fact that it still seems to a Westerner that the participants were being manipulated by a central power, it is evident that the cultural knowledge generated in the Yimin Factory certainly raised the participants overall sense of control over their own lives.

Dore (1976) asks a question which seems relevant here: "Is it true that education changes a man, enhances his capacity to work and in this way alters the price at which he can sell his labours?" (p. 93). The question shows how Westerners view education and that there is much ideological baggage to be examined over here. In the Yimin experience, the price appears to be enjoyment in one's labour and in meaning and control over one's economic production, but not to the extent of self-determination of cultural change.

People's theatre reveals cultural knowledge to its active participants by cutting through the mystification of layers of ideology and by using imitation and play and the safety of make-believe, the very things that people need no training in to direct for their own purposes.

According to Keesing (1981), "Whatever sorts of social change we seek to bring about...the first prerequisite is to analyze the realities of the social system in which we are operating," and it appears for very many reasons that people's theatre is one of the most effective tools we have got for analysis.

What we could learn from the example of Aranyak of Bangladesh and the Yimin Factory in China is that artists need to team up with those who have economic and political clout. This is not to undermine the role that artists can play and should play in social development and social transformation. As Keesing (1981) has said, cultural knowledge is apportioned among individuals in communities (p. 72). Some people will have more knowledge than others. Artists who have learned to be one step beyond self-aware, that is, to be self-conscious and sensitive about their humanness, are able to communicate with the utmost of precision because they have studied the symbols of their culture in order to manipulate them most tellingly. Thus, artists will have more of this cultural knowledge. This begs the question: Was Mao a cultural animator and a great artist himself or a narrow bureaucrat?

Conclusion

People's theatre in the international community has created ways of placing the world and theatre in a dialectical relationship that could improve human life: it is an effective way to engage in dialogue with the people for social revolution, and in the meantime, to improve the aesthetic nature of natural and man-made environments. Two very different amateur theatre collectives, the Aranyak of Bangladesh and the Yimin Factory workers' organization of China, reflect the growing world-wide phenomena of people's theatre in developing countries as a communications tool for popular organizing, education, and social transformation. People's theatre's unique potential to give voice to every man, woman, and child does not guarantee that these voices will not continue to be ignored or shut out, but intercultural and intersocietal communication is enhanced by a thriving arts community. During those times when there are threats from outsiders or colonial forces, people's theatre in developing countries is seen to be a powerful agency for collective resistance. During those times when the performing arts are shut down, manipulated, and/or regulated by governing forces within a country, people's theatre may reappear at a grassroots level to fight for changes in the cultural and/or societal realms. Overt control of the performing arts has been seen to lead to inflexibility, unimaginative thinking, and perhaps even cultural and societal stasis.

These international case studies provide a good example of how the domination of one group over another has to be won, reproduced, and sustained in the cultural realm as well as in the economic realm. People's theatre is a threat to the dominant group(s) when it leads to open resistance by those who have been oppressed. However, in even a rigorously-controlled setting, which China exhibited during the Cultural Revolution, people's theatre was influential in restraining male dominance in the performing arts. It is not clear what effect this had upon the male workers. There is evidence though which suggests that those artistically-inclined and talented members (whether men or women) of a performing arts unit in a Chinese factory were regarded as role-models: they were popular, in demand, freed from the work of the factory while performing and practicing, in other words, enviable. In Bangladesh, people's theatre is recognized as an important arena in the struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors, and it has been for centuries.

China's attempts at ensuring proletarian hegemony, ironically, via a top-down approach, led to folk artists being ignored or shut out. It would seem from the evidence that this was ensured less by the tacit and explicit denigration of the folk artists' past and present aesthetic achievements and more by the support and positive encouragement and even status given to officially approved amateur theatre units.

An alternative method for Aranyak is to combine their organizational and mobilization strengths with the Grameen Bank. Already, the bank has flexed its economic and political muscle in the villages. They have done so in a low-key, persistent manner, which is much less threatening and less liable to raise a reactionary kind of resistance from the landlords. It would be of interest to see what a collaboration of two groups such as the people's bank and the people's theatre could do to impact social change within the existing structures to make a more humane distribution of resources. It would also seem that having operated in the area for a number of years the Aranyak troupe may have paved the way for such a bank to operate. However, since landless and landlords are all interconnected within the social sphere, leaving the landlords out of the picture sets a dangerous precedent. As the bank has shown, it is of the utmost importance to operate within a given community to further their mutual interests. Theatre is a part of that picture, as are other community events, but money and resources are necessary for the people to be able to protect their interests. Working with the existing communal structure rather than imposing another structure from the outside-in seems to lessen the natural points of conflict, seem less objectionable to the landlords, and seems less likely to be rejected or rebuffed (see also Axinn, 1978). Unfortunately, it would appear that Aranyak missed an opportunity, at least, when they did not consult the landlords and when they did not council the landless and/or educate them to interact with the landlords in a more positive manner. What Mao did was to set up a rigorously-controlled system where both landlords and landless could encourage and support one another and to facilitate the progress of their mutual, although culturally-restrictive, and therefore imaginatively stifling, social development.

CHAPTER SIX
PEOPLE'S THEATRE IN THE CANADIAN COMMUNITY

> Many years ago there was a clearing, with wooden areas on both sides. It was the sight of a fierce and bloody battle. Two warring camps would meet in this clearing, fight, and then retreat to rest, each to their own side. They were very evenly matched. They fought for a long time until each side had only a few warriors left alive.
>
> As the warriors watched the birds danced. Crossing over each other and moving forward. Crossing over each other and moving back.
>
> Their fine white feathers covered the field.
>
> The warriors, seeing this, lay down their weapons and danced also. Danced into what was once their battleground. Danced and rejoiced at the simplicity of the peace they made. (Story of *G*awaGyani told by Chief Baasxyz laxha Sr., as quoted in Diamond, 1987:6)

> To place the Innu on stage, the Innu must place themselves on stage. (Goldie, 1988:50)

People's theatre is making inroads in communities across Canada, from British Columbia to Labrador, and it is being used by Native and northern indigenous peoples to organize their struggles for self-government, land rights, and to teach the rest of us about shaping a new relationship with the environment and the people in it, in effect, teaching an alternative view to the one of control and exploitation.

. . . The Emerging Stage: Commitment to Re/Membering

Before beginning a drama workshop in the Native community, it is necessary to understand that Native Indians and northern indigenous peoples were already here in Canada for more than 5,000 years, "with a rich culture and a complex social system" (Cooke, 1988:44; Cruickshank, 1987:D2). As well, in Canada, "the use of theatre as a tool for education and social change is not a new phenomenon" (Kidd, 1981:11). As Kidd (1981) points out,

> Popular theatre was an important institution in Indian and Inuit community life. Theatre in the form of songs, dances, stories and music played an important role in initiating the young, expressing major issues and recording the community's history. Theatre was life and life theatre. (Kidd, 1981:11)

Gene Rheaume, ex-MP for the Northwest Territories, says, "It is important that Canadians realize that history did not begin with the arrival of the European" (Frazer, 1972:10). Yet, very little is taught in schools about such a history of Canada, and if Natives are mentioned it is that "the Indians welcomed Columbus, Cartier and Champlain" (Rheaume, as quoted in Frazer, 1972:10). Unfortunately, it cannot be said that is also well-known and celebrated that the Canadian indigene "had already evolved highly sophisticated and successful forms of political control over North America" (Rheaume, as quoted in Frazer, 1972:10).

However, even placing Native people's origins "has changed dramatically in the last 50 years" (Smith, 1989:C5). Extensive research and new dating techniques have pushed what was previously thought, primarily by non-Native scholars, to be 5,000 years of Canadian Native history back to the Debert site in Nova Scotia, which Smith (1989) ironically contrasts with white settlers' history:

> How, for example, does the North American pedigree of either Brian Mulroney or John Turner (who, if memory serves correctly, both referred in their televised debate to the length of time their ancestors have lived in Canada) stack up against any Canadian Indian, whose roots on this continent go back at least 10,000 years? (p. C5)

Non-Natives have "consistently belittled and disregarded" Native cultural, historical, and legal knowledge "as mere fable, as untrustworthy legend" (Mundhenk, 1987/8:28). Even though, in dramatic elements and stage craft, British Columbia's "Nootka and Kwakiutl mystery plays rivalled the medieval mystery plays...and the Noh theatre of Japan" (Kidd, 1981:11). However, Native people's theatre "remained unwritten, handed from generation to generation by word of mouth" (Kidd, 1981:11). Very little is known and/or taught about Native theatre, that is, theatre by, for, and of the Native and northern indigenous population. According to Brenda Jean Anderson (1978), in North America, "the Indian has appeared in dramas and theatrical pieces by major and minor playwrights since 1605," and although "Indians have sometimes appeared as themselves or acted Indian roles, they have done so in plays written by white playwrights for primarily white audiences" (p. 232). Anderson adds that

> for a character that has been in [scripted] theatre and drama for four centuries, the Indian has developed remarkably little in accuracy of representation. The paradoxical fascination that has kept the Indian a part of theatre for so long is twofold: his [or her] usefulness in expressing sentiments that are valued by white culture, and his [or her] uniqueness as a figure free from the "civilized" constraints of white society. (1978:236)

The problem with the way that the Native and his or her traditional (oral) systems of communication have been represented by white society is such that in the present day court system "judges disparagingly declare native history to be nothing but anecdote": it seems that only "that which has been handed down on 'white paper' is acknowledged as true" (Mundhenk, 1987/8:28). Tony Hall, who teaches Native studies at the University of Sudbury (Ont.), says, "A paper war is under way, and native people cannot fail to notice they are considered the enemy" (1989b:A7). It seems that

> Aboriginal rights can be "extinguished," even without treaties. This interpretation, of course, has devastating implications for all Indians and Inuit in Canada. In fact many native leaders see in this harsh jurisprudence growing evidence that governments in Canada want to use the law itself as a weapon against aboriginal interests. (Hall, 1989b:A7)

Along similar lines, "there is a resurgence of interest in Canada in popular theatre as a force for progressive social change," that is, "increasing critical consciousness and collective organization" (Kidd, 1981:11). Kidd states that the "current resurgence is primarily nationalist—resisting cultural impositions from the USA and Britain and providing for Canadian identity and self-confidence," and this has also produced "a revival of interest in theatre as a weapon in labour and community struggles" (1981:11). Canadian people's theatre, historically, is a form which deals with "people's issues and problems from their perspective—it is their theatre, not an imposition of someone else's culture" (Kidd, 1981:11).

As Kidd points out, "during the first century of colonial invasion on the West Coast," diseases killed off a large part of the Native population—"from 100,000 in 1778 to 18,000 in 1885," also, colonial trade depleted their resources, and in 1913, "the dramas and the Potlatch ceremonies associated with them were banned, under missionary pressure" (1981:11). Similar events occurred to other Native and northern indigenous groups across Canada. According to Kidd (1981), this ban was rigidly enforced, "but the dramas were transmitted secretly to the next generation and this became a major source of resistance to colonial domination" (p. 11).

Non-Native community theatre (from about 1605), "in the garrisons of York, Kingston and Montreal,"—a "little theatre" movement which continues until this day—was to a large extent diminished by operating alongside performances of British drama by foreign touring companies (Kidd, 1981:11). Festivals were eventually set up which further reinforced colonial themes and colonial theatre (Kidd, 1981:12). A form called "Workers Theatre" (short "functional" sketches) appeared in the 1930s and operated in 6 cities and more than 60 towns across Canada: "a genuine workers' cultural movement, performed by and for the workers and focussing on their issues" (Kidd, 1981:12). The "Theatre of Action" (1936-1940) was a return to a more conventional stationary theatre and was created in reaction to the "growing demand for 'professional' standards of performance"; unfortunately, for Canadian identity, this meant re-establishing "dependence on foreign scripts" (Kidd, 1981:12). During the war and post-war years, radio kept alive Canadian nationalist theatre (Kidd, 1981:12). In the 1950s, "professional repertory theatre companies were formed in most Canadian cities, largely displacing the little theatres" (Kidd, 1981:12). But in Canada today, there are what Kidd calls "five overlapping trends of popular theatre":

a) community docu-drama
b) theatre as a tool for community development
c) theatre as a tool for raising political awareness
d) theatre as a means for remedial education

> e) people's theatre as a tool for conscientization and community organizing. (1981:12)

Native and northern indigenous peoples have reclaimed people's theatre to make their voices heard as they move into the twenty-first century. "Never has the outlook been more promising" for Native and northern indigenous peoples theatre and for the development of Native and northern indigenous persons into actors, directors, and playwrights (Frazer, 1972:7). In 1972, Leonard Maracle, executive director of the B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians, made an accurate prediction when he said, "The arts will probably be instrumental in giving us the same chance as other Canadian citizens" (Frazer, 1972:7).

Recently, in British Columbia, the 54 high chiefs of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en nations "have launched the boldest and largest land claim action ever litigated in the courts of Canada" (Cruickshank, 1987:D2). Although unprecedented in Canadian history, according to Cruickshank,

> the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en suit is also the leading case in the global struggle between aboriginal peoples and the governments and resource companies that want the land aboriginal people have historically occupied.
>
> The way these issues are resolved in a democratic industrial state could have important consequences for the aboriginal peoples of developing nations, some of whom face expulsion from their lands or death. (1987:D2)

The suit seeks to confirm Native ownership and authority "over more than 50,000 square kilometres of mostly unsettled land in northeastern British Columbia," a parcel of land about the size of Nova Scotia (Cruickshank, 1987:D2). What is at stake in the suit is more than just the land and the preservation and protection of the land; what is at stake is whether the governments of B.C. and Canada are willing to continue to deny the existence of Native peoples by denying the legitimacy of their land claims and, just as significantly, by denying their (oral) history: "In documents filed with the Supreme Court of British Columbia, the Government states that in its view the Gitksan as a people share *no* common history, culture, religion, economy, language and law [my emphasis]"

(Cruickshank, 1987:D2). This is seen by the "hereditary chiefs" as "bewildering, and just an extension of a century-old policy of racism" (Cruickshank, 1987:D2). The "British title claim" to the land in question, according to B.C. historian Robin Fisher, author of *Contact and Conflict, Indian-European Relations in British Columbia 1774-1890*, "is founded in a belief in the racial and cultural superiority of whites to natives" (as quoted in Cruickshank, 1987:D2). Fisher goes on to say, "At base, it's just the assumption you're dealing with uncivilized people who don't have the same claim to territory as European people" (as quoted in Cruickshank, 1987:D2).

On the other side of the country, the Innu band council of Sheshatshit, Labrador, have been recently seen in the media (1988-90) as trying to protect their summer hunting grounds from low-level NATO flights. Low-level flights actually started over Nitassinan, the homeland of the Innu, in 1967, but as the president of the Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association, Greg Penashue, points out, "it really became a major problem to us after 1979 when such training activities were greatly expanded" (Erasmus, 1986:12). The issue here is "white interference with, and destruction of, the Innu relationship with that land" (Goldie, 1988:48).

What can be seen emerging in Canada, from sea to sea, is that "fiercely proud of their ancient culture and history" Native and northern indigenous peoples across Canada "believe they deserve the respect and legal recognition from the governments of...Canada that white authorities extend to each other" (Cruickshank, 1987:D2). These people intend to use people's theatre and other organizational, educational, and communication tools to make this possible.

Theatre workers go into the Native community, hopefully, with a desire to help unveil and unfold the stories of these peoples' struggles "to retain control over their land during a century of European usurpation" (Cooke, 1988:44). By acting primarily as resource persons, theatre workers help community members translate their ideas and their images into something theatrically possible. But even this is no simple matter. Questions are being raised as to what kinds of collaboration are possible between theatre workers and community members, as to what kinds of organizational (social) infrastructures are necessary, and whether long-term or short-term involvement enables once marginalized community members' goals of self-determination? Another question is whether theatre workers go in as learners themselves, or whether they go into community solely to intervene and to direct the whole process? If a play emerges from the workshop/rehearsal process, who does it belong to? And to whose tradition, Native oral/storytelling tradition or white theatre tradition, must it be true?

Two dramas and two ways of researching and writing indigenous Canadian plays have emerged from Hazelton B.C. to Sheshatshit, Labrador.

David Diamond, Artistic Director of Headlines Theatre Company, Vancouver, B.C., has developed and been employing for the last three years a method called "power play" workshops patterned after Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" model. An invitation to begin drama workshops in Hazelton, B.C., arose out of dialogue between the theatre company and the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council. According to Diamond, the long rehearsal period in which Diamond's "power play" techniques were used to create dialogue and a text/script in Hazelton and Kispiox, B.C., "established the emotional base or…soil from which the play eventually grew" (Entz, 1987:n.p.). This type of work has implications not only for theatre workers and community members, but for Native and non-Native participants and audience members.

Emerging out of the community workshops, the play *NO'XYA'* (*Our Footprints*) reflects how Diamond's collaborative theatre and "power play" workshops can be used to mediate between cultures and philosophies. Diamond states that such a collaboration must exist on many levels:

> In research, writing, sets, props and costumes and in the organizing infrastructure of the tour. We have had to discover along the way how to work *together* without the expectation that one party would become like the other. The celebration of our differences is the well from which the rich-

> ness of the work springs. We have all had to reach out and learn while still remaining rooted in who and what we are because in reality, like all matter around us, we are connected to each other in ways that we do not necessarily understand. (1987:7-8)

NO'XYA' was granted full approval by the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council as a "vehicle for expressing the Native Indian point of view" (Entz, 1987:n.p.). The play was "successfully performed in forty-one different locations in British Columbia" in 1987-88, "fifty locations during a national tour," and is being booked on an international "Pacific Rim" tour in 1989-90 (Cooke, 1988:44; Diamond, personal communication, February, 1989). By giving the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en peoples an opportunity to tell the story on their own terms, and by involving the non-Native community, the play and workshop process evolved into more than just the cultural expression of a Native Indian point of view. As Diamond (personal communication, February, 1989) himself noted, it became, in effect, for all cultures, literally and metaphorically (symbolically), a portentous beginning, "the battleground where peace was made." As John Ciaccia, Assistant Deputy Minister in charge of the Indian and Eskimo Affairs Program" in 1972, said, "It is impossible to solve *the Indian problem* without an acceptance of the cultural differences between Indian peoples and the rest of our society [my emphasis]" (as quoted in Frazer, 1972:7). For instance, right near the beginning of *NO'XYA'*, "a long white cloth flies over the heads of the audience, dropping eagle down, and bringing peace into a space where an important event is about to unfold" (Diamond, personal communication, February, 1989). The down, according to Cooke (1988), represents not only a symbol of peace, but it marks "this theatrical occasion as one in which differing points of view may be considered and peacefully negotiated" (p. 45). "The crack of the sheet, the flapping of the wings" snap the audience out of their daily concerns and focus their attention on the play before them (Cooke, 1988:45). Marie Wilson, "a Gitksan elder and historian who toured B.C. with the production and fielded the discussions after each performance," sums up the impact of the play's opening:

> They were strangers in the hall; they had come to make judgements on what was put before them, to commit themselves to reliving history. History in our country has always been seen only from one side; here is one chance to see some history from the other fifty per cent. (as quoted in Cooke, 1988:45)

This type of play-opener functions very much as the workshop techniques of "power play" in the community setting: these techniques provide transition from the community member's and the audience member's life outside the workshop/performance to the "concentrated creative work of drama"; also, these techniques are very much like the "story circles" method being used at the Saskatoon Native Survival School (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:32; see also the next chapter on "People's Theatre in the Canadian Classroom").

Since Headlines Theatre personnel worked with both Native and non-Native members of the community of Hazelton, B.C., the play reflects both communities' sensibilities, that is, both Native and non-Native, although the primary images in *NO'XYA'*, according to Cooke, are those of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en (1988:44).

On Canada's east coast, Mary Walsh, director, working at the Research Centre for the Arts (RCA) in St. John's, Newfoundland, went into Sheshatshit, Labrador with perhaps as much commitment to community development but lacking an organizational infrastructure on *both* sides for true collaboration to occur. It was RCA that decided to do a show about "low-level NATO flights in Labrador," and it was they who "contacted the Innu band council of Sheshatshit and received approval" (Goldie, 1988:48).

The play which emerged after a "far too brief" rehearsal period, *Ntesinan* ("our land" in Innu), was performed in St. John's and toured locally in Labrador (Goldie, 1988:48). Creating the play was "apparently difficult for all concerned"; Walsh directed the cast, one white and four Innu actors, to interview their elders and then improvise both in Innu and in English and then she "worked on the translations with them" (Goldie, 1988:48). As Goldie (1988) points out, "those with the most theatrical experience were working with material which was always second-hand and usually third-hand" (p. 48). This problem was also compounded by the Innu actors who were quite articulate in English but were discovered by Walsh to be "unable to 'create' in English" (Goldie, 1988:48). These problems also extended to the performances (Goldie, 1988:48).

It is interesting to note that in Diamond's case the use of the "power play" process established a solid foundation or "emotional base" in the community from which the play *NO'XYA'* eventually grew (Entz, 1987:n.p.). His form of people's theatre techniques, the "power play" process, was used in the community in such a way to transcend cultural, linguistic, and artistic barriers; in effect, it acted as *a powerful medium to cut across self-perceived cultural, intellectual, and societal boundaries.* The "power play" process also helped to build a climate of trust and co-operation, and it served the purpose of delivering people's theatre to community as *an oral medium in local languages*, as *a form of literacy*, and *a means of legitimizing the self-expression of the people themselves.* It made possible the expression of the Native community's case with respect to "a traditionally oral culture" where "songs and stories provide the only record of one's position and land ownership" (Cooke, 1988:47). Diamond's "power play" process acted as an artistic structure wherein the community could strengthen the visual aspect of story, via the transmission of visual symbols, and add action, that is, acting out or role-playing, to legitimize both Native and non-Native creative traditions as complementary rather than contradictory. For instance, both sides' perspectives are made explicit: "just as Hanakx [a chorus-like Native orator] believes the stories of the Bible to be legend, so Helena, the Victorian lady roughing it in the bush, considers native beliefs and traditions to be legend" (Mundhenk, 1987/8:28).

Non-Native members of the cast were adopted by Chief Baasxya laxha (Bill Blackwater Sr.) of the wolf clan, in Kispiox, August, 19, 1987 and given names (*NO'XYA'* program, 1988:2). In effect, Headlines Theatre's work in community offered Natives and non-Natives a chance to become *fictive kin*, transcending what is still regarded by many to be a tremendous cultural barrier.

As Smillie and Murphy (1986) point out, rushing or cheating the workshop/rehearsal process in favor of getting on with the performance, which is more often the case when non-Natives engage in theatrical processes with Native artists than when Natives initiate their own process, will put all the benefits of the community workshops, that is, the development of language and artistic skills (literacy) and group or cultural skills (identity, legitimacy, negotiation, confidence, and self-esteem), at risk (p. 43). More specifically, in Walsh's case, the Innu's more general concern with getting the emotions just right was regarded as less significant than the white theatre's traditional emphasis upon precision in line delivery, that is, saying the lines and not bumping into any furniture (Goldie, 1988:48). This is actually a reflection of the pre-dominance of the non-Natives' involvement in the theatrical process for the Innu community, a one-sided process of communication, which seems to have occurred in the *Ntesinan* workshop/rehearsal period and ultimately limited what the play could communicate to any audience.

Goldie stresses that "the time has passed for such a form of 'native people's theatre,' in which outsiders decide what the vehicle should be" (1988:50), but he forgets to add that the time too has presumably passed for such a form of theatre in which outsiders decide or impose how best that vehicle should be created, produced, and judged. This begs the question in whose aesthetic tradition should a collaboration between Native and non-Native peoples be accurately rendered and by whose standards will it be evaluated? It may be that this type of collaboration will change the structure and format of theatre and that as it evolves it will be necessary to come up with new standards of appraisal which are also a true collaboration between Native and non-Natives. This is similar to the way that "the beginning of collective theatre" in Canada, during the late sixties, involved "worker control over the working conditions and relations of work" and was translated into the artistic and cultural realms as "the breaking down of the functions of writing, acting, directing," and so forth (Kidd, 1981:12). At that time, the lack of Canadian scripts reinforced this need for collective creation, and it is likely that today the comparative lack of published scripts, written by Natives, Innu, and a collaboration of Natives and non-Natives will also herald a new format, something more dynamic and creative than the old traditional formats (for instance, repertory theatre) (Kidd 1981:12). *NO'XYA'* is more than community docu-drama (although Diamond had the last word on the finished script), it is collective creation which like the best of them "arranges for members of the community to participate in rehearsals, allowing them to comment, suggest changes, in effect, to 'control' the content of the drama" (Kidd, 1981:12).

Goldie suggests that the role for white or non-Native theatre is to provide Native and northern indigenous groups "with the equipment, the money, and the advice when desired" (1988:50). However, his view is somewhat limiting when contrasted with Headlines Theatre Company's work in community whereby Native organizations provide the equipment, the money, the advice/consultation, and much, much more. The theatre company's personnel provides the appropriate form of theatre techniques which will help solve this particular community's "theatrical" problems, but they can only suggest these as possible solutions. By collaborating with community members, theatre personnel learn as much about the theatre's possibilities as the community members do.

It is also significant to note that as *a relatively cheap medium*, people's theatre in the community can *begin* without purchasing any extra equipment, and it can begin in any rehearsal space that is available, be it a living room, a school auditorium, a community center, or even outdoors in a playing field. But once people's theatre techniques are translated into a play, then there is definitely a need for an organizational infrastructure to raise the costs of production and touring, if desired.

Although financial support and the costs involved, for the production and tour of *Ntesinan* cannot be determined from the literature, *NO'XYA'* garnered support from such

Native organizations as Northern Native Broadcasting, the Kispiox Band, and the Anspayawx School Society and from other organizations such as, Canada Council, Secretary of State, the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council, churches, other Indian bands, and many other community development organizations (such as, CUSO and OXFAM), plus many individual donations (*NO'XYA'* program, 1988:5-6).

Whereas *Ntesinan* cannot accurately be considered a community collaboration, it was more Walsh's play and the Innu played their assigned part, *NO'XYA'* is truly *a locally-produced collaborative medium* between Headlines Theatre, the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council, and many individuals in the area surrounding Hazelton and Kispiox, B.C. It was produced by the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council and Headlines Theatre, created and written in Hazelton over a nine-week period from Feb. 16, 1987 to April 17, 1987. *NO'XYA'* was slightly re-cast before going on tour to include professional actors and actresses appearing courtesy of Canadian Actors' Equity Association. However, several original workshop members were retained, including a Native actress by the name of Sylvia-Anne George who is a member of the Gitanmaax Band in the Hazelton area. Ms. George is a graduate of the Spirit Song Theatre Arts Program, and she is also involved in creating a new theatre/video production company in Vancouver (*NO'XYA'* program, 1988:2-3).

The "Commitment to Re/Membering Stage" is characterized by a Starting point, which is the most difficult initially for the community as it involves significant questions, for example, as to what purpose will people's theatre be used? In Diamond's case, the community knew from the very beginning that a strong case was going to be made "for Western eyes": 1) to unveil unfamiliar and familiar objects/subjects, in effect, to act as a liberating, culturally-transcendent, visual spectacle for the spectator, for instance, the traditional regalia, the decorated button blankets/robes and especially the totem pole which is brought out piece by piece in a ritualistic fashion and which demonstrates a visual power "even to those who do not fully understand the symbolic significance of each one" (Cooke, 1988:46); and 2) "to stimulate public discussion [at the grassroots' level] of the complex issue of native self-government and to communicate…historical experiences and perspectives for the future" (Mundhenk, 1987/8:28). *NO'XYA'* was conceived by and for both Natives and non-Natives.

In Walsh's case, the play *Ntesinan* raised many questions which seem not to have been adequately addressed from the very beginning of the rehearsal/workshop period:

> who was the play for? Was it a means of reaching the white leaders, to make them change their policies? Was it something for the white liberals to stir them to place more pressure on the leaders? Was it primarily for the Innu themselves, a communal exploration of their values, particularly as they relate to this central issue? Or was it another example of "ethnic theatre," in which a certain group represent themselves on stage to explain themselves to outsiders? (Goldie:1988:50)

Nonetheless, despite its inadequacies, *Ntesinan*, like all collective creations, or collective docu-dramas, challenged

> the urban middle-class monopoly on theatre, making drama accessible in community halls, factories, meetings, etc. and outside the large cities including people who have never seen it before—eg. remote outports, logging camps and mining towns….
>
> It also breaks with the tradition of touring "high art to the boondocks." This is people's theatre which people can easily relate to and understand. It helps to reinforce a Canadian identity which in the face of a daily battering by the forces of cultural imperialism, is a significant contribution. (Kidd, 1981:13)

However, it is not possible to judge accurately whether *Ntesinan* "is the people's art, *their* creation [my emphasis]" (Kidd, 1981:13).

NO'XYA' is also closely connected to "theatre as a tool for community development" in that is has

> focussed on a single community issue and is used to promote ends beyond the theatre event—a process normally involving discussion, organization, and action. The issue becomes far more important than the drama—the drama

> serves as the vehicle for confronting and challenging people to deal with the issue. (Kidd, 1981:13)

Chief Joseph Alfred, a key figure in the Supreme Court case over the B.C. land claims, has observed that *NO'XYA'* raises questions from the audience about "morality versus the profit motive," and the audience wants "to know what they can to do change the system" (Cooke, 1988:46-7). The Chief's philosophy, reflected in the play, is made even more clear during the post-play discussion period.[1] He said, "We answer that you can't really change the system; you need to change yourself" (Cooke, 1988:46-7). This is a profound example of how theatre can be best used, in fact, Mundhenk, in reviewing *NO'XYA'*, says, "This is the stuff theatrical legends are made of" (1987/8:28).

The second part in the "Commitment to Re/Membering " stage is Divergency, which includes the community's exploration for reaching a variety of possible solutions when analyzing a problem. Since it is not possible to know exactly what happened during this stage from the literature, it is necessary to examine the written document or the play itself. A dialogue in *NO'XYA'* between four contemporary and central characters, a Native couple James and Marianne and a white couple Frank and Helen, unveils an innovative solution to the problem of dealing with the land, the trees, and logging (a significant B.C. industry). First, it is important to note that the plot of *NO'XYA'* spans 80 years:

> from the arrival of Francis and Helena in Hazelton...from Scotland, where, ironically enough, their own family had been driven from their land...to the present, when their descendants, Frank and Helen, are "hit" with the notice that a land claim has been filed. (Cooke, 1988:45)

The solution arrived at is one that speaks across boundaries in that both couples are tied to the land; the solution is a collaborative one.

> James You left someplace else to come here. If you wanted you could leave here to go someplace else.

---

[1] Chief Alfred replaced Marie Wilson as discussion leader for the national tour.

> **Helen** Our grandparents may have come from somewhere else, but this is our home now every bit as much as it is yours.
>
> My life is here. My friends are here. I want my children to grow up here.
>
> **James** But you don't belong here.
>
> **Helen** That's not fair. We're here, and if we're messing something up, fine, tell us. But in order to do that you're going to have to see us for the people we are. And the people we are are your friends.
>
> **James** Well why don't you start acting like it.
>
> **Marianne** Look. Wouldn't it be better for all of us to have the decisions about what happens here now made here instead of in Victoria …or New York…or Hong Kong?
>
> A train 900 miles long full of trees leaves this territory every year.
>
> **Frank** Here we go…little flower child. You'd shut down the logging, wouldn't you? You'd put everyone on welfare.
>
> **James** No. You don't stop the logging. You change the way it is done. You stop thinkin' just about today.
>
> You stop rippin' the Earth's skin off to get the trees, and you build small businesses that make things from the trees so people here can buy them. They're shippin' everything outta here cheap and buyin' it back expensive and all they're leaving us with is wages. And when the land is dead they're gonna take even the wages away. And you know that, don't you? (Diamond, 1987:32-33)

This is not a solution that has been imposed on the play, but rather, it is a collaborative solution that emerged out of a long enough workshop/rehearsal process where everyone's input, knowledge, and experience were considered to be legitimate and therefore significant. What is intriguing about this dialogue is that Helen, a white woman born of Scottish immigrant parents, tells James, a Native man who is about to inherit the Chief mantle, that he must begin to see whites for the individual people they are, rather than just as representatives of the predominant non-Native culture. This is an interesting switch on what may be perceived as a way to deal with reverse discrimination for it is often the non-Native culture that treats Natives as if they are all members of one generic culture, in other words, who labor under a homogeneous view of culture. It is the white couple who fear for their land, but they do not long remain oblivious or naive to the fact that they are also driving the Natives from their land (Cooke, 1988:46). These are not the usual, stereotypical characters, they are contemporaries and they are complex. The desire for communication between the cultures is one that is clearly desired as much by Helen as it is by Marianne, a Native woman, in effect, "it is the women who first offer friendship, calm their husbands and try to restore peace, and vow to work the problems out together locally" (Cooke, 1988:46). This is also clearly a reflection of cultural change. The innovative solution to extensive logging as the only economic development possible, especially in the long-term, is one that has obviously been well-researched and/or is well-understood by the community. The solution was not imposed to make a better play or to adhere to any pre-supposed tradition of white theatre; instead, it enabled the two groups to join in self-government of the land and for better economic use of the land, that is, for a "rational utilization" of resources in order to protect the land from having its resources robbed forever, for the benefit of all, Natives and non-Natives.

In the case of *Ntesinan*, the play seems to have moments which lack conviction in offering innovative solutions to old and recurring problems. According to Goldie (1988);

> the first act...settled into easy depictions of the racist white and the honest Innu. There could be many excuses, such as the Innu actors' inexperience and lack of preparation time, but it all seemed too simple. At its most extreme, the refined, well-dressed Innu sat in a bar not drinking while a white slob in a white suit, baseball cap and pro-NATO button guzzled his beer and insulted them. (p. 49)

This lack of complexity and originality must be seen to be related to more than just a lack of rehearsal time. It seems to reflect an inability of the two groups, whites and Innu, to effectively experience people's theatre techniques in such a way which may have allowed for a more positive and purposeful dialogue between them. At its most extreme, this form of propagandist theatre is almost "burlesque" in that it employs characters who are very broad and part of the "stock" traditional image that is easily recognizable but that does not necessarily exist in reality nor does it describe the individual members of community. What might have helped substantially is if Walsh had used "theatre as a tool for raising political awareness," by opening up the play to community feedback. At the end of the performance, the audience might have been invited not only to discuss the issues, but "also to criticize the play and suggest ways of improving it" (Kidd, 1981:14).

. . . The Emerging Stage: Belief and Trust

It seems that wherever it is used people's theatre breeds authentic, indigenous educational and dramatic forms. Within these forms, people's theatre raises questions about political, educational, and theatrical processes, for instance, how do these processes act as mediators between cultures? (Goldie, 1988:48; Cooke, 1988; Borlase, 1988)

Since people's theatre has a role to play in learning (and the defining of a self in relation to others), the dialogue (verbal and non-verbal) which is enabled by theatre exercises will be reflected in the performance or play. Moreover, in much the same fashion, the play will continue to evoke further dialogue from audience members. Audience members who have not been involved in the play-making should be able to see themselves reflected in the dialogue on stage. Better yet, they should be allowed a post-performance forum for their input.

With the play, *Ntesinan*, Walsh and one white actor, Gerald Lunz, moved into the community just "a few weeks before the first performance," which meant that the process was far more production-oriented than process-oriented. According to Goldie (1988) the process suffered from a lack of training and know-how in that four young Innu actors with "varying degrees of exposure to what might be called 'white theatre'" took part in the research and were cast in the play, in effect, a creative/cultural barrier. Also, there was a language barrier; as Walsh said, "No one over thirty in the community speaks sufficient English to describe their situation" (as quoted in Goldie, 1988:48).

According to Kidd (1981),

> The popular theatre movement has been largely dominated by professional actors since the demise of the workers theatre movement in the 30's. However, there is a growing involvement of people without any professional theatre training who use theatre as a weapon in community or workers' struggles. These groups are much less visible and operate without a lot of publicity outside their own area. (p. 14)

This kind of theatre "is not an isolated event; it is part of a concrete struggle or educational campaign" (Kidd, 1981:14). At a recent conference (November 10-12, 1989) held in Yellowknife, N.W.T., by the Canadian Research Centre for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW/ICREF) on Native and northern women, one Montagnais Innu woman from Sheshashit, Labrador was flown in to talk about her experiences with regards to the NATO low-level flights and the increasing militarization that seems to be in the planning process for Labrador. Role-playing and theatre warm-up exercises were used during the session. The Innu woman was unable to speak at the seminar on "Women and Militarization," which involved women from all over the world, including South Africa and the Philippines, due to her nerves and shyness. But she had handwritten a three-page letter that was read by a non-Native community activist from Labrador. What is significant is that people need to understand their lives in terms other than those provided by the mass media. Theatre can help the individual to communicate this information. People's theatre might also have helped Celina Ashini, the Innu woman, approximately 38 years of age, to overcome her shyness at speaking out about something she cares deeply about.

One of the problems that Kidd (1981) raises is that community organizers may encounter resistance when and if they approach theatre groups "who feel they will lose their artistic integrity—art will be sacrificed to a specific problem or community" (p. 15). Theatre workers and community members must be involved in dialogue. Kidd (1981) says, "Theatre workers who are interested in using theatre as a tool for socialization must learn skills that promote dialogue and participation and must see their work as more than just a good show" (p. 15). In Walsh's case, it may have made more sense, if further discussion had helped break down "the [white] performers' sometimes mystifying professional ethos" (Kidd, 1981:15) in the way that Celini Ashini made her letter available to this researcher after such discussion (see Appendix A).

Though the language barrier was perceived by Walsh as a tremendous problem (it likely had as much do with cultural and artistic barriers), the Saskatoon Native Survival School (see also the next chapter) works to transcend these barriers. The point is that "what is important is that people can be good at popular theatre," and "this makes it immediately useful as a force for increasing self-confidence and developing active participation" (Kidd, 1981:16). No matter what an individual's literacy level or what the "legitimate" cultural or artistic knowledge is perceived by others to be, using the "story circles" method or the "power play" process, which are similar to the Native storytelling tradition, allows for a truly collaborative process. The Saskatoon Native Survival School has in fact been able to produce several successful productions with students who at one time were regarded to be "prelanguage" (see the next chapter for more details about the "story circles" method).

It seems that the problem identified in Walsh's work with the Innu has been overwhelmingly identified in such a way that seems to reflect inadequacies or deficiencies on the part of the Innu. Goldie (1988) says that even as resource persons in their own culture, the Innu actors had varying cultural knowledge:

> A significant tradition of the Innu, which is also central to the play, is the journey out to the country in the summer, to live in tents and hunt. But one actor, Edward Nuna, had never "been to the country" in that sense. Some of the other actors referred to him jokingly in conversation as a "white Innu." (p. 48)

According to Kidd (1981), "one of the weakest aspects of popular theatre has been unclear ideology or lack of critical analysis" (p. 16). This may have occurred in the *Ntesinan* production, which seems to have been, like much of the weakest forms of popular theatre, "content to provide a series of images of the community without any overview or analysis" (Kidd, 1981:16). This weakness is inherent in the collective creation unless there is someone involved (as in the case of Diamond) who not only takes charge so that anecdotes, events, and personalities are faithfully presented *with* a sense of focus, but who is directly concerned with the community's struggles.

It cannot be over-emphasized that no one part of the community-building process should be hurried in order to get to the next step. In this sense, people's theatre as *a form of confidence-building* allows every participant "to overcome fears and rationalizations, to find their own voice (the courage to express their own thoughts including criticism and protest)," and "to build up a sense of individual identity and a collective identity" (Kidd, 1985:21). It is in the creation of a community of trusting individuals that the theatre can thrive, and when stories are allowed to emerge in this "safe" environment, they become "the seeds for the *collective* creation of a play" [my emphasis] (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:33).

Some of the blame for the difficulties experienced in the production of *Ntesinan* are also identified by Goldie (1988) to be shared problems. *Ntesinan*'s Innu cast "were insufficiently comfortable with the RCA's type of theatre to make it their own," and "the RCA were insufficiently comfortable with the Innu culture to do the job from the opposite direction" (Goldie, 1988:50). Goldie believes that the collective creation would have been much more compelling had it recreated the actual dialogue which occurred between Innu and warmhearted non-Native visitors, in effect, what actually occurred when Walsh and Lunz came into Sheshatshit for only a few weeks; as Goldie (1988) puts it, "that ongoing countertext of colonized peoples" (p. 50). This would have provided for a truer picture of the (hidden and overt) conflict between the whites and the Innu, "which is much more subtle" than that depicted in the play, and which is much more difficult to unveil (Goldie, 1988:49).

Instead of recreating the subtle conflict which actually occurred between Innu and white actors, Walsh and Lunz, whose work with the Innu was "constantly frustrated by the pace at which the Innu functioned," arrived at a more stereotypical portrayal of racist or naively ignorant white characters and generic Innu characters (Goldie, 1988:49). This may have been due, in part, to the imposed deadline of quickly arriving at a performance rather than concentrating on drama as an educational process as it is with Diamond's "power play" techniques. To the Innu, it must have seemed that the "whites always wanted everything done as quickly a possible, even when there was no real benefit to the speed" (Goldie, 1988:49). By avoiding the subtle and the complex, by dealing only in simplistic representation, black and white, *Ntesinan* reflects a missed chance for a truly collaborative picture to emerge and for shared dialogue to be enhanced by shared action and reflection which would have enabled, at the very least, a learning process to benefit both parties: whites and Innus. Goldie (1988) also asks "whether such limited images" which were provided by the play "are sufficient to draw the audience into the situation" (p. 49). However, he does add that as theatre, *Ntesinan*, like *NO'XYA'*, breaks through the conspiracy of silence which ensures that most cases of oppression in daily life go unreported and unnoticed by others. In this sense, both *Ntesinan* and *NO'XYA'* are good examples of people's theatre as a form of resistance; though as a codification of reality, *Ntesinan* is less complex and therefore less revealing. This is not to say that as theatre the production of *Ntesinan* did not have a powerful message, which is so much more powerful than just words alone, and which was made most clear by its conclusion: "when a quiet conversation around an Innu family tent was broken by an ear-shattering sonic boom, should convince audiences of the evil of the NATO flights more than pages of documentation" (Goldie, 1988:50).

A commitment to work in the Native community must be equated with a commitment to repudiate the "conspiracy of silence" which has harmed both the Native, northern indigenous, and non-Native communities. For a century, this "conspiracy of silence" has denied Natives their rights, in effect, "denying the existence of those civilizations" (Cruickshank, 1987:D2). This silence has also denied Natives and northern indigenous peoples a way of communicating and interacting with non-Natives to fashion a world that is livable for all.

Eradicating the "conspiracy of silence" is not limited to the Native and northern indigenous peoples for it also affects the communication, belief, and trust possible between any two groups (cultures). While the Innu are being challenged in the courts in Labrador, there is also an ongoing debate about which scientific studies to believe as to the damaging effects of low-level flights over sparsely populated areas of Labrador. Pien Penashue, a 64-year-old elder of the Innu of Sheshatshit, who testified at the trial of six people from his settlement charged with public mischief after more than 40 Innu and supporters occupied a runway at Canadian Forces Base Goose Bay to protest against low-level military flights, September, 1989, was challenged by Provincial Court Judge Richard LeBlanc: "Mr. Penashue was not an expert about the effects of low-level flying on the environment and should not testify about it" (Cox, 1990:A3). Judge LeBlanc's ruling led to the six accused people refusing to enter any more evidence (Cox, 1990:A3), in effect, feeding into the conspiracy of silence. Cox (1990) says that in the past 20 years, the 10,000 Innu in Labrador and northern Quebec, "descendants of the original inhabitants," have seen their traditional lifestyle challenged in every possible way: "the flights were the last in a series of federal government moves that lured them off the land and into frame houses to a life of welfare, alcohol and television" (p. A3).

What is even more confusing is that Colonel Philip Engstad, commanding officer at CFB Goose Bay, said, "the military has tried several times to work with the Innu, with little success" (as quoted in Cox, 1990:A3). This is not too far from the difficulties Walsh said she encountered when working with the Innu in a cultural production. Engstad said, "They haven't co-operated with us in any way, shape or form," even though he added that the Department of National Defence has set up Native job-training programs for the Innu, who have not taken advantage of them (Cox, 1990:A3). As yet, there seems to have been no attempt made to improve the communication styles of both the Innu and the non-Native military officials and their personnel. Thus, the negotiation between these groups is fairly limited. Despite the military officials' *alleged* desire to work with the Innu, their denial of recognition of the Innu's land claims and knowledge about the land has made negotiation almost impossible. Whereas the Innu say that the flights have "scared away the caribou and partridge, traditional sources of food," officials of the Department of National Defence "dispute that claim, saying both partridge and caribou have been increasing in recent years" (Cox, 1990:A3). Also, Engstad says that the Innu's demonstrations are futile, in essence, they "have not hurt Canada's chances of getting the NATO base ahead of Konyo, Turkey, which is also bidding for the project" (Cox, 1990:A3).

Concern over low-level flying and increased militarization as a way of providing economic development to economically-deprived regions of the world has raised similar concerns in Europe, the Philippines, and elsewhere, as it has in Labrador (see also Appendix B). *Ntesinan* might have had the potential to tour Europe in much the same way as Diamond is pursuing a Pacific Rim tour of *NO'XYA';* and allowing for audience (community) input, the performance might have grown into something much more valuable, for instance, "Theatre as a Tool for Remedial Education" (Kidd, 1981:14) and as a tool for increasing global co-operation and organization of struggle. This would be similar to what Edmonton's Catalyst Theatre is unequivocal about, that is, its social change objectives: "To promote and practise the use of theatre for public education and as a catalyst for social action" (Kidd, 1981:14). In West Germany, after the publication of the preliminary studies, one on hearing by Dr. Manfred Spreng and the other by Dr. Immo Curio on behavioral problems, "many West Germans protested against the more than 200 trips a day taken by the screaming jets about 75 metres from the ground" (Cox, 1989:A3). The studies by Spreng and Curio seem to back up what the Innu have been saying all along about the low-level flights, which is that they are "harming their children and destroying their traditional hunting and fishing activities" (Cox, 1989:A3). Engstad has also said that Iskenius is "not an expert on low-level flying and is spreading inaccuracies about the Labrador situation" (Cox, 1989:A3). This begs the question, Who does Engstad see as an expert on low-level flying and how do community groups and professionals find a way to overcome his resistance to their understanding?[2]

Given the expertise of Headlines Theatre Company's resource personnel, the Tribal Chiefs and Council, and the support of the Village of Hazelton, *NO'XYA'* is an attempt to bring "historic events to national attention" and to point out that "native self-government has for centuries implied a profound responsibility to the land as opposed to destroying it in the name of profit" ("Evidence wraps up...," 1988:15). By giving the "Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en peoples an opportunity to tell the story on their own terms," *NO'XYA'* "promotes dialogue by finally breaking with the official practice of passing the indigenous tradition over in silence and thus helps the non-native audience to begin to understand the truth of our common history" (Mundhenk, 1987/8:28).

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[2] Another major concern is the impact of military bases on women and children, whether in Olongapo, the Philippines, or in Goose Bay, Labrador. These concerns range from: 1) militarized prostitution, sexual abuse, wife abuse, AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases when it is already known that "foreign air force men stationed in Goose Bay drive to the nearby Innu community of Sheshatshiu to pick up young girls," allegations which are treated as "defamatory and a surprise revelation" by military officials; 2) destruction of the family/community fabric—"In Sheshatshiu alone, 15 children have been born to Innu women from liaisons with British, American, and West German men"—also women fear that military culture will take over—"In June 1988, an 18-year-old Innu woman was brutally raped by a member of the Canadian armed forces. She attempted suicide in December of that year"—wife abuse is on the increase and their is a lack of support services to deal with the victims; 3) economic discrimination and the conspiracy of silence, for it seems that Labrador women are being asked to make difficult choices about a development they desperately need and about which (especially the negative costs) they *may* know very little about (North Atlantic Peace Organization, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1989d, 1989e, 1989f, 1989g, 1989h; see also Erasmus', "Militarization of the North: Cultural Survival Threatened," 1986; Ogresko, 1989; "Innu robbed of their independence and identity as a people," 1989).

These concerns expressed in *NO'XYA'* are recognized to be global issues about economic development, identity, legitimacy, and human rights; unfortunately, *Ntesinan* has not been able to help the situation except to provide a mirror. But as Kidd (1981) says

> The documentary form must provide more than a mirror—it must be a focussed mirror which confronts people with the distinction between the mythologies of society and the reality. It is no longer enough to provide people with information they are already aware of or to give them a chance to see themselves. Documentary theatre must help people to deepen their awareness of their situation and to change it. If it doesn't, it may be just another "rip-off" of other people's experiences. (p. 16)

A research component called Particular Divergency, means an opportunity for each individual to try different ways of expressing his or her social reality in many different modes and settings, in other words, to have the confidence to experiment with ideas and expression through action (without words, experimenting with the visual/imaginative possibilities of the aesthetic language that is theatre or drama). Headlines Theatre provides the best example of this in its use of "power play" techniques, which are a series of theatre exercises used to develop community and artistic means of expression, very much like Boal's "Image Theatre":

> Someone expresses an opinion on a theme of common interest by making an image using others as statues. The participant uses the other bodies as if he or she were a sculptor and they were clay. Not a word is spoken. When the image is completed it can be discussed with the other spectators and modifications made until the group is satisfied that the image "speaks" as forcefully as possible. The image can be literal or abstract—what matters is that an oppressed and an oppressor can be identified within the image by the group. (Cooke, 1988:44)

The second step in this stage is Shared Values Determined, and this can also be best observed in the "power play" techniques which allow for a process of sharing views and trusting in community through a series of theatre exercises which develop and extend this collective ability through "collaborative analysis, collective decision-making, the development of group or organizational activity, and collective action" (Kidd, 1985:21). Diamond notes that *NO'XYA'*, a parallel drama to the one taking place in a Vancouver courtroom, allows the participants to present their case while the audience serves as the jurors, and this has "validated many things for the group, both theatrically and politically" (Cooke, 1988:47), and this author would add, educationally. There is a demonstrated need and a demonstrated receptivity on both sides for re-education or for more education about what is not known about the other. According to Cooke (1988), "Judging from audience reactions, in the hearts of theatre audiences in Canada the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en people are making a strong case" (p. 47)

If *Ntesinan* is a mirror, it allows the people to see an expression of discontent that has been rendered with too broad a stroke and one that has not been very effective at channeling the anger and miscommunication of all the players involved. In the case of *NO'XYA'*, the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council designated Diamond's Headlines Theatre company to fashion a play that would aid in enabling both parties, Natives and non-Natives, to communicate with each other in a non-threatening fashion. Perhaps as a result of their concerted effort to improve their communication styles and to educate the non-Native Canadians about who they are, the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Indians "have signed a framework agreement with the federal government on self-government" ("Indians, Ottawa sign pact," 1990:A5). Although their claim of ownership over 57,000 square kilometres in land is still before the B.C. Supreme Court, Indian Affairs Minister Pierre Cadieux "hailed the agreement...as leading to what he called a 'new and special' relationship" ("Indians, Ottawa...," 1990:A5). The federal government has also stated that they will be entering into negotiations with this Native community which will focus on matters ranging from natural resources to government procedures, an aim at permitting these Native communities "to have their traditional form of government recognized in Canadian legislation" ("Indians, Ottawa...," 1990:A5).

...The Intermediary Stage: Making Contact with the Child Within (The Imagination) And Developing a Critical/Emancipatory Understanding

At a time, such as the 1980s were, when the Innu were being jailed for hunting caribou out of season[3] and for protesting on NATO runways to protect their land and the people and animals who make it up, large companies (i.e. Loblaws Corporation) and small companies openly broke laws, for instance, the Sunday closure laws in Ontario, with no jail sentence in sight (instead, paying a fine). Although these same companies use the mass media, for instance, *The Globe and Mail*, to advertise their so-called plight, it may be that play-making is the only medium at the disposal of the Innu to literally escape from "social entrapment" simply for being who they are and for continuing to advance their way of life (Goldie, 1988:48; see also Crapanzano, 1985:xiii). This is why it is so disappointing that *Ntesinan* was not more carefully fashioned by persons skilled in either Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" model or Diamond's "power play" process.

The fact that *NO'XYA'* was put on in Mission, B.C., at St. Mary's School, "which was until 1969, an Indian residential school...where they were punished if they spoke their own language" carries "a special meaning to the many native people in the audience" (Cooke, 1988:46). People's theatre, then, as a cultural animator, is "a way of recovering, reviving, validating, and advancing the people's own culture and history" when they are being denied their rights, and it also allows them to state their own case without punishment (Kidd and Rashid, 1983:22).

Diamond's Headlines Theatre company is the best example of people's theatre as a cultural animator. In their work in Hazelton and Kispiox, B.C., the theatre personnel included right from the beginning other Native organizations, Native artists such as Hal Blackwater who was born and raised in the community, is an active member of the internationally known 'Ksan Performing Arts, is a dancer, dance instructor and singer, and who toured as choreographer, core researcher/writer and actor, and elders, such as Chief Alfred Joseph, who acted as consultant for Wet'suwet'en place names. Unlike *Ntesinan*, *NO'XYA'* without a doubt represented the community. Native resource persons were also involved in the research into and/or construction of and/or design and use of: 1) masks, 2) traditional musical instruments, 3) props, regalia co-ordination, totem pole raising, backdrops, bentbox, talking sticks, rattles, button blankets, 4) synthesizer composition and sound tape production, and 5) poster and graphic artwork and so forth (*NO'XYA'* program, 1988:1-5).

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[3] This happened to one of the Innu cast members in *Ntesinan*; consequently, there were only four instead of five Innu actors in the final production.

Ntesinan was less successful as a cultural animator for the Innu, especially since the elders of the group did not seem to have been consulted and/or as very little research was initiated by the community members themselves. At the time, it may have been reflective of a community beginning to emerge from the conspiracy of silence, for as Goldie (1988) points out, "significant attempts were made by [the] white director and actor to let the Innu speak their own words" (p. 50). But rather "than providing new information discovered by Walsh's visit," or "recovering, reviving, validating, and advancing" the Innu's culture and history, the play itself simply reasserted the "values which at least the white liberal audience in St. John's already shared" and "repeated facts known to anyone who has read a newspaper account of the dispute" (Goldie, 1988:50; Kidd and Rashid, 1983:22). In this sense, *Ntesinan* may be reflective of a community caught or suspended, uncomfortably, between two cultures. It is doubtful whether this people's theatre experience could by itself restore total confidence in the Innu community's cultural production, and it is even more doubtful that this "confidence" would be translated into the political and economic sphere.

At a recent CRIAW/ICREF (Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women) conference in Yellowknife, N.W.T. (November 10-12, 1989), the closing session was dominated by a MicMac elder who came forward to the microphone and was very visibly nervous. She was unable to hold the hand-held microphone (the proceedings were being filmed as well) and was aided by the moderator. She had not wanted to speak to the group of conference attendees (between 200 and 300 women attending a weekend-long session on Native and northern women) about Native spirituality. But she had been literally badgered by the younger generation as she put it, especially by one young Native woman, and so she had decided to say a few things about Native rituals. When her talk ended, she and many of the people in the audience were in tears as she asked if the banquet hall full of women would join hands in a circle while she said a prayer for a safe journey home. Later in a more private setting, this MicMac elder led a Sweetgrass Ceremony and a Talking Sticks Ceremony with a group of about 25 Native and non-Native women. One of the most moving speeches was made by a young Native woman who said that although she had had sweetgrass in her house all her life she had no idea what it was to be used for, and she said that she wanted now to join her brothers and sisters. The MicMac elder summed up the two reasons why she had spoken to the entire conference about Native spirituality despite her misgiving about sharing this with non-Natives: 1) she did it for the younger generation of Native women who desired to learn about the ritual; and 2) she said that she had ultimately felt that the room of women from all over the world and across Canada were very receptive. At the end, the younger woman who had never used sweetgrass in a ceremony said it was the first time in public that she had ever "felt proud to be Indian." It is too bad that in the case of *Ntesinan* that this type of educational and ongoing organizing process of community was overlooked. In comparison, *NO'XYA'* was created as part of "an ongoing educational and organizing community process which begins before the theatre activity and continues on after it is over" (Kidd, 1985:25). In this fashion, *Ntesinan* is comparable to "earlier experiences in popular theatre...which assumed that the performance activity on its own would act as catalyst for community action" (Kidd, 1985:25).

By definition, this stage involves a research component called Statement of Intent, that is, what it is that this community can and wants to do. It would seem that Walsh's work in Sheshatshit may have been inadequate and Diamond's work in Hazelton and Kispiox was successful. Diamond is still continuing to educate the community, and it would seem that he means the global community, by his plans to take the show *NO'XYA* on tour to the Pacific Rim.

The second step, which is Selection/Limitation, and which involves zeroing in on key issues, was perhaps the easiest for both productions. In both cases, the directors, Diamond and Walsh, wrote the play, but it is more evident in the case of *NO'XYA'* that Diamond was "in constant consultation, both with the core group (Hal Blackwater, Lois G. Shannon, and Marie Wilson) and with others [including elders] in the community" (Cooke, 1988:44).

...The Intermediary Stage: Organizing for Effective/Affective Response

Ntesinan, by portraying only limited, two-dimensional characterizations and by really only once enabling the Innu cast to produce or to "achieve" what Goldie calls an "overtly theatrical 'gimmick,'" limited its effective/affective participant/audience response (Goldie, 1988:48). However, Goldie (1988), in his review of the performance, does not give an adequate summation of either the Innu cast members or the Innu community's response to the play. In fact, he seems more preoccupied with the "white liberal audience" and their response, with whom he seems to share ideology and values.

A letter to the editor in the *Hazelton Sentinel* (April 21, 1988) is a better indication of how the Native audience viewed *NO'XYA'*:

> While I looked forward to seeing the play, in the end the experience was more emotional than I had expected.

> It brought back strong, and at times very painful, memories that I have struggled to live with all my life.
> (Louis Joseph of Hagwilget, B.C.)

In her letter, Joseph mentions a scene in the play *NO'XYA'*, a song in the middle, sung by Hal Blackwater, which is a sacred song of mourning from the Gitksan House of Mi'uus (Diamond, 1989): "Hal Blackwater, through your powerful lament, you expressed the pain I have held in my heart, and the collective pain of our people" (*Hazelton Sentinel*, 1988:n.p.).

When viewing a tape of a a live performance of NO'XYA', made at the Waterfront Theatre, Vancouver, B.C., June, 1988, the mourning song by Hal Blackwater seemed very slow and protracted (albeit full of emotional truth) to this author whose training in the white theatre tradition would have meant cutting the song or asking the actor not to give in to his or her emotions, to underplay them, in fact, to pull back emotionally from the material to avoid being read by the audience as self-pity, that is, having more to do with the individual than the community (rather than as a living representation of the community's expression of grief and anger). Questions would surely be raised by other traditionalists in the theatre as to whether Hal Blackwater is "acting" since he is singing a real mourning song as a "character" who is about to inherit the Chief mantle in a fast-changing world, something which is true for the man himself (the actor is also the son of Chief Alfred Joseph).

It sounds like a similar effective/affective response occurred in *Ntesinan*, which was underestimated by Goldie (1988) in his review. In one family scene between two Innu actors, they

> became so wrapped up in their feelings that they broke into tears on stage. They said that this happened only once before, in the performance at Goose Bay, which is the closest large centre to Sheshatshit, and also home base for the bombers. (p. 49)

Goldie does not disclose what the northern indigenous community's reaction was to the actors' disclosure of their real pain, which perhaps is the "collective pain" of their people.

It would seem, though, that at the very least any disclosure in the theatre, whether by actor/participant or audience/member, must be treated with respect. Goldie (1988) seems to be unaware that Canadian drama "has from its beginnings been partial towards what might be called the authority of factual evidence" (Filewod, 1987:5). In the Native tradition, it would seem that this factual evidence is being translated by a rich culture and a complex social system into the Native or northern indigenous aspects of ceremony. Ironically, Goldie goes on to say that this is "the Innu playing themselves in an essentially white vehicle," and then, he dismisses the audience's reaction as "sentimental" (1988:49-50). It is in the continuation of community, over the long-term, that marks the difference between the Native and the non-Native long- and short-term interests and, therefore, different understanding of the concept of time and communal expression of grief and anger.

When Native and non-Natives, traditionalists and innovators, in Canadian theatre are still searching "for new forms capable of expressing new analyses of Canadian culture" to create "an indigenous documentary shaped both by native experiment and international influences" (Filewod, 1987:13), calls by critics, such as Goldie, that there are some aspects of the Native, oral/storytelling and song traditions which should be amended to satisfy "white" theatrical requirements are likely to be premature. The relatively new movement of Canadian documentaries, or collective creations, has often been received poorly by critics who are steeped in the British tradition of the theatre with its understanding that the playwright is a creative individual and not a community; especially the collective creations inspired by Toronto's Theatre Passe Muraille (post-1973), where "the responsibility for authenticating the material of the play was passed onto the actor, who in effect reported the findings of his own research" (Filewod, 1987:13; Kidd, 1981:12). The "first playwright in Canada to use the techniques of documentary theatre," Irish-born John Coulter, eventually dismissed the new movement he had helped to start by saying,

> Are not the directors and actors attempting to banish the playwright, to improvise their productions, each contributing whatever random idea comes into his [or her] head in a sort of comment....What we are seeing in such parades is a company of actors interpreting not a playwright, not a play conceived and shaped into unity and meaning by a playwright, but their own notions of what a play might be.... (as quoted in Filewod, 1987:13)

Filewod says that Coulter "greatly underestimated the dramatic intelligence" of the new documentaries (1987:13). Thus, Coulter like Goldie may have overlooked the fact that the documentary theatre, or collective creation, "seems to thrive in periods when new cultural imperatives cannot be expressed within the framework of traditional dramatic forms" (Filewod, 1987:13-14). It is also significant to note that the documentary form

> concerned as it is with the presentation and verification of cultural material as evidence...effectively reorders the fundamental relation of artist and society....At the core of the documentary impulse is an implicit critical statement that the conventional dramatic forms of the culture in question no longer express the truth of the society, usually because those conventional forms cannot accommodate rapid social change. The documentary approach provides a way for artists to realign the theatre to these changes. (Filewod, 1987:14)

Documentary theatre, by its very nature, is "a genre of performance that presents actuality on stage and in the process authenticates that actuality" and "speaks to a specifically designed audience for whom it has special significance" (Filewod, 1987:16). It would seem, then, in order to critically review people's theatre in community it is imperative to document the specifically designed audience's reaction for whom the play was created and, secondly, to change the conventional aesthetic standards in order to judge the performance honestly.

Just as there are certain symbolic meanings that speak to non-Natives that may not as yet be fully understandable by Natives and northern indigenous peoples, there are certain symbolic meanings that speak loudly to Native and northern indigenous peoples that may *not* as yet be fully understandable by whites and/or outsiders. It is necessary as a first step that outsiders and/or non-Natives overcome their immediate rejection of emotional display when it reflects honestly "the collective pain" of indigenous people, something that is still too difficult to register for those who wish to deny the existence of these people. It is impossible to ignore the political realm in an examination and critique of the aesthetics of cultural productions. Oddly enough, Alan Filewod, author of *Collective Encounters: Documentary Theatre in English Canada* (1987), manages to do just that in his examination of the evolution of documentary theatre in Canada and in his case studies of such well-known collective creations as *The Farm Show, Ten Lost Years, Paper Wheat* and even the political documentary *Buchans: A Mining Town.* Filewod ignores the colonial roots of Canadian theatre and also downplays the political realm in the critics' reception of collective creations.

Will the Native and northern indigenous' people's theatre plays such as *Ntesinan*, and *NO'XYA'* function and/or be allowed to function as legitimate political, historical, and artistic documents? No theatre production is neutral, theatre does not operate in a vacuum, and it would seem that its tangible effect upon future events is impossible to discern unless it is created in consultation with a political organization (Filewod, 1987:150-151). Filewod (1987) might answer no for these plays introduce historical conditions through the subjective experience of their characters at the expense of what he calls genuine historical analysis (pp. 122, 135). Filewod (1987) goes on to say that this "may be a necessary consequence of a 'people's history' in which experience speaks louder than analysis" (p. 135). However, he seems to be missing the point which is that marginalized groups, the forgotten people excluded from textbooks and histories, are beginning to articulate a sense of grievance about being exploited by research professionals, especially when analysis by these same researchers is exclusive rather than inclusive. Knowledge-power-brokers have maintained the conspiracy of silence by excluding some cultural expression, and therefore some experiences and the knowledge which arises from that, from having "legitimacy." This is often a two-way dilemma because these knowledge-power-brokers are limiting what they can know about these people, thus, inhibiting necessary change and innovation. It seems that Filewod (1987) is caught up in this dilemma: he cannot as yet grant full "legitimacy" to this kind of theatre, yet he understands that by "reviving the memory of...shared grief, the actors pay homage to the community, and this in turn endows them with authority to speak for that community" (p. 139). The questions are, who will ultimately grant "legitimacy" to people's theatre as a living testament of people's history, and who will evaluate it for its merits as entertainment, and how will these two considerations ever merge? Will it be the critic's or the audience's voice who speaks the loudest? Filewod (1987) seems uncomfortable in his position on these considerations for people's theatre and in this sense he reflects the traditionalist's view. Filewod's uncomfortableness with the actors' relationship to the material is evident. It would seem that he is most reassured by the inclusion of documented material; however, this is muddy ground for Filewod as he is pulled between the interpretation and the representation, in effect, what is the actors' relationship to the community? He says that some forms of documentary theatre are "as much an entertainment as a *didactic* history [my emphasis]," which seems to refute his previous statement about "the obvious superiority of documentary material" (Filewod, 1987:143). He says that "the most awkward use of characterization" is when "dialogue is clearly organized to present information, rather than to validate the impersonations of the actors" (p. 143).

To whose tradition, Filewod might ask, must documentary theatre be most true? The kinds of questions which Filewod's history of documentary theatre in Canada evokes strikes a similar chord with Goldie's (1988) critique of *Ntesinan*. Filewod (1987) raises another problem with regards to people's theatre as living history or as entertainment. Filewod (1987), then, like Goldie (1988), seems to be caught in that uncomfortable middle ground between placing documentary theatre's significance as living history and/or as adhering to certain conventions of traditional theatre. Filewod (1987) also goes on to say, like Goldie (1988), that "interventionist theatre must be judged by its political results" (Filewod, 1987:150). In other words, who was the play for? If judged as theatre, Filewod says that some forms of documentary theatre "appeal to heightened *sentimentality*, rather than critical analysis" (1987:50), and his use of the word sentimentality echoes Goldie's (1988) review of the two Innu actors' "emotional display" in *Ntesinan*. It would seem that both men are downplaying the effective/affective response of some forms of cultural production, and this begs the question by whose standards are they evaluating?

As entertainment, people's theatre in community has the power to move people and to be ignored. Understanding that *NO'XYA'* speaks to audiences on the grand scale, even on its national tour, "the theatre is likened to the Feast Hall, and each spectator is given a gift, a button," and by accepting the gift, the audience member validates what he or she "has witness[ed], judging the evidence that has been placed before him [or her]" (Cooke, 1988:47). Audience reactions have been very positive,

> and people seemed genuinely moved. Offers of help were made. Marie Wilson noted that traditionally the Native peoples imprinted their children with wisdom and knowledge by means of oral history, and that using traditional methods, the play has now imprinted the audience. "And I guarantee you," said Wilson, "you will never forget us." (Entz, 1987:n.p.)

Critics have raved and called *NO'XYA'* "a spellbinding exploration," "rich, lyrical and visually appealing," "a pleasing blend of narrative, dance, music and ritual, with a healthy dose of political satire," "theatre that matters—political, and yet food for the soul," "darn good theatre," "remarkable," "played...magical tunes on the spine," and so forth (O'Connor, 1988; Crook, 1988; Entz, 1987; Scott, 1987; Bushelkin, 1987).

The strength of Diamond's "power play" techniques when used in community enabled a common theme to emerge in *NO'XYA'*, which is that you do not have to be Indian to practice self-government and to want to protect the land from outsiders' control. In a climactic scene from the play, the two contemporary settlers, Helen and Frank, while engaged in dialogue with the Native couple, Marianne and James, discover that there really is no alternative:

Frank (To James). You grew up on reserve, didn't you?

James Yeah. Mostly.

Frank You ever worked your land?

James You mean my backyard?

Frank I mean worked your land. Got out there and broke your back to clear it and make it into something. I got sweat drops over every inch of that ground out there.

Marianne (To Helen). What's going on?

Helen Tribal Council has put a freeze on the sales of all Crown land until after the court case is over.

Frank Why are you people trying to steal my land!?!

James Whoa! This is not just Tribal Council, OK? Its also the Hereditary Chiefs. And I don't think anybody's saying anything about stealing anyone's land, Frank.

Frank This is a law suit aimed specifically at our land!

You attack a man's land you attack his life.

I gotta deep down desire to have a better way of life than movin' from one sweat job to another sweat job—so I applied my body to the land. Into developing it. Into making it into something.

Marianne Its not necessary to make the land into anything.

Frank Why not? What do you think the good Lord gave us dominion over the earth for?

Marianne It says in the bible that dominion—

Frank All this stuff—

Frank Look. You know I'm not a racist, right? But all this stuff about letting the land do what it wants: Your whole reserve isn't doing anything with your land. OK, maybe you're growing a few spuds on it, but you're not developing it.

James Nobody's said anything about kicking you off your precious land!

We had all this. 22,000 square miles. Native people walked every inch of this land. We survived on it. We made a living on it.

You're pissed off 'cause you got 200 acres for half a dozen people and now its frozen? Hell, on our reserve we got 600 people corralled onto about 300 acres of non-arable land, and its been frozen for a long time now.

Frank I never had to chase any Indians off this land so I could farm on it.

Helen Yes, well, there wasn't actually anyone living on this very spot when we got here, but—

Frank Whose side are you on, anyway?

Helen Whose side?!

Marianne Of course you never had to chase anyone away. One of the first things the settlers did when they moved into this territory was burn our grandparents' houses to the ground to make room for their own farms. It was the middle of winter.

Helen Those settlers—Marianne, my grandparents were running away—they'd been burned off their own land in Scotland.

Marianne Is that an excuse for what people like them did here?

What did you think it feels like for me to drive past places that I know used to belong to my family? To know the connections.

Marianne The pain is reversing itself. Its got to. Of course its gonna hurt, but maybe its about time.

James	The difference is if it hurts too much you can just pack up and leave. We can't.
Helen	Neither can we. (Diamond, 1987:30-32)

As an *ongoing medium*, people's theatre politicizes people's personal and public realms and draws them into popular organizations and struggle. But sometimes, it is difficult to perceive and to quantify the changes that have to be made within yourself as opposed to the changes that have to be made to the system. Since there is no study yet which adequately documents how this medium changes its participants/audience members, it is impossible to say how successful either *NO'XYA'* or *Ntesinan* have been. In the case of *NO'XYA'* the medium of people's theatre is linked with struggle and organization. Some questions that could be asked are whether there is long-term involvement by theatre personnel and community members, and what are the long-term goals of such involvement?

The performance itself is not the total experience. It seems that when the focus is on the final product rather than on the educational process, as it was with *Ntesinan*, this does not always ensure that the production values of the show are remarkable. Contrast this with the "superb production values" of *NO'XYA'* in which the educational process was at least as, if not more, important than the finalized product (O'Connor, 1988). In fact, it would be difficult to divorce the educational process from the significance of the finalized product.

People's theatre can document the experience of a community; in effect, as *a medium which puts information and analysis in a form linked to social experience*, it can be regarded *as the living form of a people's curriculum* (Filewod, 1987:17; Kidd, 1985:18; 21). In Canada, "the uneven historical development of the several regions has engendered an idea of separate regional cultures distinguished by geography, history, demography, and language" (Filewod, 1987:22). Canada's documented history is sadly lacking in its denial of "natives' *ada'ox*, or family histories, for in a traditionally oral culture, songs and stories provide the only record of one's position and land ownership" (Cooke, 1988:47). Thus, it is not only the "uneven historical development" but also the suppression and outright denial of legitimacy of Native and northern indigenous people's knowledge through rigorous means which has created the conspiracy of silence; for example, "the feast system, for years outlawed by a white government, provided the occasion for formally passing on land and title, and those present at the feast served as witnesses to these important transactions" (Cooke, 1987:47). It is in the denial of these people's historical, cultural, and legal knowledge that enable the "ruling-class myths [to control] consciousness" (Kidd, 1985:21). In order to deepen "the understanding of the political-economic structures which shape the possibilities for and constraints on" these people, a play like *NO'XYA'* is an affective/effective political and historical document.

The work which must be done in the community is demanding and critical, and a dozen steps must be followed rigorously before any transferable theatre event can be recognized. Since people's theatre is a form of theatre (an aesthetic language in itself), it must stand up to some of the criticisms about its interpretation as well as to those about its representation.

...The Final Stage: Dealing With Disclosures and Moving On

NO'XYA' provided audiences with discussion leaders on its provincial and national tour. These resource personnel have close ties to the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council, and they are recognized, knowledgeable Native individuals/elders/artists. Had Diamond overlooked this significant part of people's theatre, which invites audience interaction, perhaps many spectators who might otherwise have been deeply moved would not have been able to share their feelings and ideas in a collective dialogue with all that that entails for building solidarity and as a communicative process, to build potential alliances with other groups or individuals working in the same or diverse areas.

Ntesinan, by closing off the performance with a powerful, visual and aural spectacle ("ear-shattering sonic boom") and by not having planned for audience interaction or discussion post-performance, may simply have raised spectators' (and participants') consciousness to a level of powerlessness and simply left them hanging there. Such a shock, without adequate debriefing, may have lasting effects, or may simply be ignored.

Conclusion

In the indigenous Canadian community, people's theatre has always functioned as a tool for education and social change. Historically, it was an important institution in Native and northern indigenous peoples' community life, and it has been reclaimed for use by and with these same populations as elsewhere among non-Native community groups. Despite the fact that there are a number of scripted plays where Native people have appeared in North America from 1605 to the present, Native people are not accurately represented in many of these theatre productions. Instead, they appear to express sentiments that are only of value to the white culture or to represent freedom from the constraints of white society. There is a need for an accurate representation of the Native and northern indigenous peoples of Canada. David Diamond's play, *NO'XYA'*, appears to have been produced for that purpose, that is, to educate both the Native and non-Native communities and to provide a living form of Canadian history that is not available in any textbooks. Unless Native and northern indigenous peoples voices are heard, they will be in danger of falling into the trap or conspiracy of silence which the non-Native society has by violence and also by indirect means been only too happy to maintain, for instance, the denial of Native knowledge, understanding, and cultural production.

Although theatre workers go into the Native and northern indigenous communities with a desire to help these people reclaim their stories, way of knowing and understanding, and for the purposes of social action, Native and/or northern indigenous plays and performances are still being judged by the white theatre tradition, and this often continues to denigrate their cultural production. Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" model, which is similar to Diamond's "power play" process, is clearly a very effective delivery system of people's theatre. Mary Walsh's collaboration with the Innu of Sheshatshit, Labrador is a good example of people's theatre which may continue to be ignored. The problems which she and her cast, one white and four Innu actors, encountered are problems which are also being faced daily in any multicultural setting, and they point up significant cultural, intellectual, artistic; emotional barriers to communication. However, the "power play" process or the "story circles" method, which will be examined in further detail in the next chapter, are proven techniques to transcend or cut across these self-perceived boundaries in the Canadian Native and non-Native communities and to help participants communicate with each other in a non-threatening fashion. It is quite likely that the play *NO'XYA'*, which was a true collaboration by the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council and Diamond's Headlines Theatre company, is making possible the creation of a new and more humane relationship between this group and the federal government. This may only be possible because of the well-organized and politically motivated infrastructure that evolved the play and in the way it truly represented a collaboration of the best of Native and non-Native traditions.

CHAPTER SEVEN
DRAMA LIBERATING EDUCATION IN THE CANADIAN CLASSROOM

> The Labrador North Creative Arts Festival has been speaking to the people of Labrador since 1975, and we believe that we are being heard here. Our experiences are invaluable to any region looking for a creative expression of what it was, is and may want to become. (Patey and Borlase, 1981:8)

> Social change will come for our students as they assume control over their lives and build solid organizations aimed at social and economic equality. The Drama workshops...may contribute...to that long-term dream. (Two drama teachers at the Saskatoon Native Survival School, Smillie and Murphy, 1986:15)

Much in the same way as Freire (1970) developed his cultural and literacy circles (Regnier, 1988:25) and as Boal (1979) developed his "theatre of the oppressed" techniques and as Diamond developed his "power play" process in the 1980s, two Canadian educators/theatre workers, Ruth Smillie and Kelly Murphy (1986), have gone one step further with their invention of *Story Circles*. By adapting Freire's and Boal's models for the Canadian classroom setting, and by integrating English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching methods into an indigenous, traditional structure of cultural expression, Smillie and Murphy have made possible what might be termed *drama liberating education* .

In contemporary schools' traditional academic discourse, an enormous amount of learning is expected of a child; yet, teaching methods have lagged behind content (Henry, 1960:128), and content is often seriously deficient in relevant cultural experience. In response to this lack of cultural expression, the Survival School movement as a whole, of which the Saskatoon Native Survival School (SNSS) is a part, has been active in Canada since 1976, and it reflects a "broader struggle to advance academic and culturally-based education programs" and a response to the various social crises some of its students might face: incarceration, alcoholism, drug abuse, unemployment, and suicide (Regnier, 1988:28-29).

Cal Patey and Tim Borlase (1981), two organizers and promoters of the Labrador Creative Arts Festival, have focussed on reclaiming people's theatre as a way to encourage cultural activity in Labrador schools and communities. The Labrador Creative Arts Festival (LCAF), which speaks through two school boards, the Labrador East Integrated and the Roman Catholic, "represents approximately 4,000 students, their teachers, interested adults, and the general public that has supported this Festival" (p. 1). Unique in Canada, the Festival reflects cultural change in Labrador and is a response to the social issues which its student face: unemployment, low-level flying, commercial caribou harvesting, local control of the fishery, loss of Native languages, self-government, and so forth (Borlase, 1988:53).

The "story circles" method which has arisen out of the experience of the Saskatoon Native Survival School is a disciplined and innovative pedagogy for teaching literacy through storytelling, action (or acting), and reclaiming and affirming traditional structures of cultural expression (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:13-14). In pursuit of meaningful academic success for students, Smillie and Murphy have adopted English as a Second Language (ESL) objectives in teaching drama as a part of the regular English (or language arts) program (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:9, 10, 12-15). They have set their techniques within a pedagogical framework influenced by Freire and Boal, both of whom have developed methods of language teaching which assume that illiterate people suffer within a "culture of silence" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:14).

Boal and Freire have both used methods of questioning and discussion, with Boal adding the possibility of action (which can be extended to the classroom), to help learners "to investigate their position within the overall society and to act to change their reality for their betterment" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:14). Boal and Freire as co-investigators with their groups of learners researched images or "pictures of reality" to present to inhabitants a way of codifying and decoding their familiar world (Freire, 1970:103, 106-7; Kidd, 1985:24).

Such a thematic investigation has been adapted by Smillie and Murphy (1986), with reference to Freire's work to

> introduce a *code word* filled with meaning for...students. The word, in written form, along with an illustration or picture of the object it named, was the subject of discussion.
>
> If, for example, the word was "house" and the picture showed a typical hovel, Freire might pose some questions for illuminating the social meaning of "house" for his students. His questions were simple. Pointing to the picture he would ask:
> 1. What do you see here?
> 2. Why is it like this?
> 3. What are the circumstances that support and maintain this kind of thing in our community?
> 4. What, as a group, can we do about this?
>
> Freire's students were learning new vocabulary, in written form, and they were talking about their own reality in a way designed to change their consciousness about it. (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:14)

Boal took it a step further by enabling participants'

> dramatized images of reality [to] create the focus for discussion which then turns back to drama-making in order to reflect and concretize the analysis....The improvisations also bring out unanticipated contradictions which a purely analytical or dialogical process might have missed. (Kidd, 1985:24)

Learners were not only "preparing to find means by which to improve their circumstances" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:14), with the added dimension of Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" techniques, they were then acting upon their discovery.

Smillie and Murphy do not use pictures in the drama workshops, but rather, they take the students themselves (like Boal) on a developmental path of discovering expression, via artistic means, with their own bodies and minds (Smillie, 1986:15). Students are not just telling stories in a written and oral form, but they learn to express themselves with their whole bodies. This is much akin to Boal's (1979) method of using the dramatic arts as a way of uncovering myths that inform reality and unveiling compliance to oppression (how it is translated into the body and mind).

Story Circles is a proven method which elicits the students' contemporary stories (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:13). By eliciting students' stories in the drama workshops, Smillie and Murphy (1986) underline that language acquisition, social development, and personal growth go together: "We see students becoming comfortable with the group and becoming less afraid of making a mistake in the unfamiliar language" (p. 19). Smillie and Murphy (1986) are addressing literacy failure in schools where "isolated bits of language such as are presented in most workbooks and spelling texts have no familiar context and therefore, have little lasting meaning for ESL students" (p. 12). Thus, they are building in predictability (an important ESL consideration) by congregating new vocabulary around a particular context, and they are helping to reclaim Native students' traditional structures for learning: "The oral literature of story, song and ceremony [are] familiar to our students who have experienced traditional winter story-telling sessions on the reserve" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:13). Smillie and Murphy also draw on the "work of the great Russian drama teacher Constantin Stanislavski in which observation, mood, purposeful action and spontaneity are the key to telling a story using improvisational theatre techniques" (Regnier, 1988:34).

In those schools served by the Labrador East Integrated Schools Board, people's theatre techniques have become part of a "Language Arts program through composition, discussion and debate as well as part of the social studies-history program by the study of demography and research and analysis of historical phenomena" (Borlase, 1988:52). In 1987, the 12th Annual Festival sponsored by the Labrador East Integrated Schools Board (LEISB) involved students from all grades and up to 25 schools from Labrador's North and South Coasts and the Lake Melville area. Since 1975, the Festival has developed people's theatre for use in the classroom and community as an "extension of the total curriculum, where the goal is to utilize the skills acquired in the core subjects to develop a sense of the students' own writing" (Borlase, 1988:52). The LEISB has integrated the Festival in order to meet the following specific objectives:

> 1) To foster a broad sense of Labrador identity.
> 2) To provide a means whereby a student can develop his [or her] own self-expression and confidence in exploring different art forms.
> 3) To promote and develop research methods.
> 4) To provide a formal setting where students from various communities can come together to share, create and experience a wide spectrum of arts activities from professional artists.
> 5) To develop a keener aesthetic sense and aid students in becoming appreciative of the arts in various forms particularly with regard to continuing recreation in home communities.
> 6) To develop skills of appreciation in assessing arts activities created by other students.
> 7) To provide an opportunity to acquire technical knowledge and skills in the use of tools, materials, processes for art expression.
> 8) To understand and appreciate the visual environment in which the students live and a sense of responsibility for it.
> 9) To develop critical thinking techniques to aid in selection of what is important and what is extraneous to the students' lifestyle, through research, playwriting and performance. (Borlase, 1988:53)

Both the LEISB and the SNSS seek to address what has been noted as the major cause of reading (literacy) failure and thus student failure, which is cultural and political conflict in the classroom (Burnaby, as quoted in Smillie and Murphy, 1986:11). In the six years that this pedagogy has been developed and put to use at the SSNS, and in the twelve years that it has been a part of the LCAF, it has advanced through continual experimentation and has proven to dramatically improve participant's language skills, confidence, group skills, and self-esteem (Regnier, 1988:38), while promoting and developing research methods which guarantee at least some local and culturally-contexted content in the schools (Patey and Borlase, 1981). This would seem imperative in a fast-changing world; for example, desperate for economic development, the people of Labrador and eventually their children will be threatened with having to make decisions about what, perhaps, has never been read or talked about in their schools. Otherwise, how are they to make wise decisions about their welfare?

At the SNSS, "every child who has emerged from the program has improved in language skills, some of them dramatically" (Regnier, 1988:34). Survival School teachers "administer the Stanford Diagnostic Reading Test, Brown Level and a multitude of other tests" for the students who take part in the "story circles" and are preparing for admission to Grade Nine (Regnier, 1988:34). "Students are tested before they begin the drama program and after it ends" and then for "six weeks, four days a week, two hours a day they work at language arts" (Regnier, 1988:34). This is not just a group of students or individuals sitting around telling stories, but rather, it is a craft which requires mastery: it has standards and it is demanding, in effect, "it is relentless in its belief that the students will learn if they speak about their own culture and their own experiences" (Regnier, 1988:34).

Such transformations have also been recognized in Labrador: "students themselves, be they Inuit, Innu, Settler or Newcomer, can articulate their own unique identity better and are excited about responding creatively to the way they see the future" (Borlase, 1988:53). Performances of original material incorporating local history have "improved over the years," plus the "students have grown more competent in the visual and verbal presentation of their material" (Patey and Borlase, 1981:6). It is significant to note that in the beginning years of the Festival "there was a tendency to imitate TV shows" (Patey and Borlase, 1981:4), and thus, the students were revealing how influential exposure to the mass media can be when there is no substitute. By introducing a theme, the Festival organizers have assisted students in the objective of increasing Labrador awareness and of developing their imagination in this setting (Patey and Borlase, 1981:4). Both settings, whether in Saskatchewan or in Labrador, have created a forum within their institutions where students can effectively/affectively communicate cultural change (Borlase, 1988:53).

Students larger problems derive from the very institutions of the society within which we all live; unfortunately, people's theatre techniques as a developmental tool will not solve all social, political, and economic problems. That is why it is so important to begin to develop support systems and to organize and communicate with persons outside the classroom. As Smillie so eloquently puts it,

> Without the support of your staff and the community not only will you "burn out," particularly if you chose to go ahead with performances of a collective play, but the voices the kids have worked so hard to find may be squelched by a lack of interest and support in the community. (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:4)

. . .The Emerging Stage: Commitment to Re/Membering

Central to beginning the drama workshop in the classroom is the understanding that drama, "story circles," people's theatre techniques and/or what may be called "Theatre of Survivors" is not enough to address all the learner's social problems. One of Smillie and Murphy's students, Loretta, provides a telling example:

> ...one of twelve children in her family. She is the only one to have gone as far as Grade 9. Home and family relations were often a problem for her. She was shy about herself. But; faced with an improv situation in which conflict had developed, Loretta was unstoppable. She was the snotty woman at the refreshment stand in the Drive-In improv. Later, she was the only daughter to stand up to a drunken, paranoid father, by levelling serious criticisms which even he could not ignore. In short, she relished the fight. We bet she would get bitten by the drama bug since, in improv at least, the students could use any theatrical or creative power to deal with the problems they were describing.
>
> She became unwell. At first we thought she had developed an ulcer. The heartburn and queasiness didn't go away after treatment. She was pregnant, almost three months. We accepted her late arrivals in the morning, tolerated her ill humor until juice and soda crackers had settled her stomach and hoped she would take part anyway. Everyone saw her as one of the group. She was given a name in the animal naming circle: Prairie Quail, scrappy and protective of the young, beautiful grouse. She took part in the search for stories in the third week. But she couldn't continue. There was no support at home, her diet was poor, sometimes there

> was no bus fare, her brother would slap her and take her money earned from babysitting. We understood that our delivery system for Drama was such a slender line from home to school. We did not have the proper services to enable her to maintain the connection she had begun to build, and we lost her participation before she could tell her part of the story. (1986:16)

Smillie (1988), through her work as Artistic Director of Catalyst Theatre, Edmonton, has begun to articulate some of the ways in which support systems can be fostered in and outside the school. (See "The Final Stage: Disclosures and Moving On.")

As a relatively *cheap medium*, the "story circles" method as practiced at the Saskatoon Native Survival School does not involve purchasing any extra equipment that is not already a part of the drama classroom. All other materials are cheap and are easily accessible. At the costlier end is the Labrador Creative Arts Festival which "gets a good deal of financial support from local businesses, local school boards, the IODE, the Canada Council and the Secretary of State, as the expense of flying coastal students into Goose Bay is very high" (Borlase, 1988:51).

Drama liberating education derives its power as *a medium for cutting across self-perceived boundaries*, as *an oral medium in local languages*, as *a form of literacy*, and as *a means of self-expression*. It also has the power to increase participants' sensitivity to and awareness of their environments. In their brief to the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, Patey and Borlase (1981) pointed out that during the development of the Festival from 1975-1981 what came to their attention was a concern "about the condition of existing facilities and…the total lack of them in many cases" (p. 8).

In Labrador, *drama liberating education* offers participants an opportunity to share creative experiences overcoming geographic and social isolation while becoming aware of the varied and composite lifestyles that make up the greater community (Borlase, 1988:51). Also, for the first time in 1987,

> students did interpretations of material from another ethnic group within Labrador: the grade 4 and 5 students of the Settler/Inuit community of Rigolet performed a Montagnais

> Innu legend, The Caribou Man. In addition, as a result of coming together at the Festival in previous years, two distinct cultural groups—the Inuit of Hopedale and the Innu of Davis Inlet—decided to mount a joint production of reflecting traditional cultural values and three languages, English, Inuktitut and Innumaen. This joint project was rehearsed over the telephone, and teleconference, and one weekend. It came to Goose Bay and earned the right to represent the eastern Labrador region in the Provincial High School Drama Festival. (Borlase, 1988:53)

At the Saskatoon Native Survival School, "prelanguage" students or students whose "actual spontaneous verbal skills in English" are not developed and who offer almost no oral language are given opportunities to extend their range by developing "tremendous" listening skills in the story circle and by developing concentration to "reiterate words spoken in an unfamiliar language" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:18-19; Regnier, 1988:35). One student, Cheryl, after learning to feel at ease speaking within a group, "finally committed herself to the story we were building, she stood up to her boyfriend who hit her when she came to rehearsals without him" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:19; Regnier, 1986:35).

Another student at the SNSS, Clinton, whose entire left side has been paralyzed by cerebral palsy, with the intervention of the Direction Team (teachers and professional theatre workers), was able to practice throws and catches with the intention of fitting smoothly and easily into his group (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:29). In a warmup, called the Ball Game, which is a "tough exercise in hand/eye co-ordination and concentration," not only did Clinton fit into his group, he developed understanding and confidence in his own body, which ultimately led to the development of co-operation, support, and compassion within the group (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:20, 29).

The "Starting Point" at the SNSS begins by taking twelve young people "suffering from some or all of the following problems: alcohol and drug abuse, poor nutrition, sugar addiction, lack of sleep and extreme muscle tension" and offering them a non-negotiable physical warm-up that lasts for 10-15 minutes, including mild aerobics done to music, jogging, and theatre games (Regnier, 1988:35).

The core of the program which address the steps of Divergency and Clarification (see the previous chapter on People's Theatre: Theatre of Survivors) is the story circle, made up of students and teachers and/or professional theatre workers which emerges as a daily ritual:

> It always follows the same structure: one person initiates a story with a phrase or sentence; the next person repeats the phrase or sentence, then adds to the story and so on around the circle until everyone has contributed. Within the structure variations are added, such as providing the first and last line of the story, adding a twist to the plot, or introducing objects to stimulate ideas. But the ritual of moving clockwise around the circle, repeating everything that has been said before adding to the story, having the story begin with one person and end with that same person, always remains the same. (Regnier, 1988:35)

Students become aware of their "collective power to create and share stories," as they become aware of their abilities and weaknesses. As they share with others they also commit themselves to the process of re/membering all individuals as being equal in community:

> We say, "We are a circle. And in order to tell and create stories, we must develop a strong circle. Each of us must give our complete support to the circle and in return we will receive the support of the circle. Putdowns of any kind, no matter how funny or witty, will not be tolerated in this circle." (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:32)

Opening the circle at the beginning of the workshop provides a transition from an individual's life outside the circle "to the concentrated, creative work of drama" and closing the circle involves making plans to "contact the absentee students" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:32; Regnier, 1988:35).

. . . The Emerging Stage: Belief and Trust

The story circle evolves with participants beginning to act out and work improvisations from their stories (Regnier, 1988:25). Theatre-based programs such as this extend dialogue by adding the dimension of action: Improvisation extends storytelling. The class is divided into groups of four to six to retell stories in a smaller circle and then to break down stories into units (Regnier, 1988:36). Students all answer questions based on the story and the "Five W's": "Who? What? When? Why? and Where?": "Each group outlines the action for each of the units. One person in each group should record the scenarios. Then one actor decides on the objective for each unit" (Regnier, 1988:36).

Regnier (1988) tells Martine's Story before it is broken down into "Unit l: Trouble at Home: Unit 2: Running Away: Unit 3: Kohkum":

> I was standing at the bus stop. Everything in my life wasn't going right. Mom was drinking again. She was having a party. I didn't want to go home. I started to walk. I walked for a long time. Then I was on the bridge. I was looking at the water. I wanted to jump. Then I saw Kohkum in the water. She was calling, "Awas! Awas!" (Go away! Go away!) I ran. (p. 33)

The students cast themselves in respective roles, in this case Martine played herself and outlined the situation for the other actors (Regnier, 1988:36). After improvising and adapting the units several times, the story which emerges is a collective response:

> Unit l: Trouble at Home
> All of the actors were in mask. The mother and the adults were drunk. Martine sitting on the floor trying to do her homework. She gives up. She begs her mother to stop drinking and send everyone away. The mother tells Martine to leave her alone. Martine leaves.
>
> Unit. 2: Running Away
> Martine stands by the bus stop. The bus stop is a woman wearing a "white face" mask standing with her back to Martine. Martine cries and holds onto the bus stop for support. The woman in the "white face" mask remains rigid and unmoved. Martine starts to walk. She comes to the bridge. She looks into the water. She considers killing herself.
>
> Unit 3: Kohkum
> Martine stands on the table that represents a bridge. Slowly, her Kohkum appears and yells at Martine to go away. Martine runs. (Regnier, 1988:36-37)

By affirming a sense of individual identity and collective identity, this work is *a form of confidence-building*. Every individual's "actions are used to record an improvisation" (Regnier, 1988:37). These actions are shaped into a written text of "exactly what a character is doing at a given moment in a unit"; thus, "the actors are able to rehearse and build on their work through a clearly-defined process" (Regnier, 1988:37). Martine's units were broken down into these actions:

Unit 1: Trouble at Home

Martine	Mother
I watch the party	I greet my friends
I open my book	I revel in the good times
I try to concentrate	I knock over a drink
I read	I laugh
I give up	I play with my friends
I go to my mother	I try to ignore Martine
I plead	I put her down
I withdraw	I dismiss her
I leave	

Unit 2: Running Away

Martine	Bus Stop
I go to the bus stop	I ignore Martine
I look for help	
I give up	
I weep	
I walk	
I see the water	
I consider	

Unit 3: Kohkum

Martine	Kohkum
I see Kohkum	I see Martine
I panic	I fear for her
I run	I order

(Regnier, 1988:37-38)

Drama liberating education restores the social balance by acting as *a social form of resistance* to the acceptance of blame for one's problems, in effect, by addressing problems in their social context. By clarifying actions and reflections through the story circles method, drama/liberating education acts as *a codification of reality*, revealing the myths that inform action. These myths may be in the minds of the individual or the collective.

In this stage, the story circle addresses the following steps: 1) Research into Particular Divergency; and 2) Shared Values Determined. (See also the chapter on "People's Theatre: Theatre of Survivors.")

. . . The Intermediary Stage: Making Contact with the Child Within (The Imagination) And Developing a Critical/Emancipatory Understanding

These stages are very finely connected and work in one begins the work in the next, with much overlapping. Any stage or category is not a rigid set of rules but a general heading for a group of elements similar in form and theme, and some variation and blending with other stages or categories is to be expected.

According to Stanislav's "method," the character's objectives, which in Martine's case were, "I want the party to stop; I want to escape from the pain; I want to get away from the vision," provide the emotional color and motivation for the playing of action (Regnier, 1988:38).

As *a cultural animator*, *drama liberating education* dredges up culture-specific themes. These themes have a broad range and are as diverse and varied as the members who make up any specific group or culture. With specific reference to Labrador's Creative Arts Festival, they can range

> from the absurd (a scripted version of *The Unicorn In the Garden* by Goose Bay High School, the largest high school in the area) to the ridiculous (*Kanitukuluk*, a camping trip of some unprepared teenagers from the Inuit community of Nain), to serious issues facing young people (drugs, prostitution and access to half-way houses, presented by Mary's Harbour, or how to prevent friends from drinking in a house where you are babysitting, presented by the elementary students of Hopedale). (Borlase,1988:52)

The imaginative play reflected in the above themes, which is a key component of *drama liberating education*, is a significant factor in the creation of an environment where students can face the tragic and the humorous.

Drama liberating education puts the play back into the self-healing and collective-healing of a culture and its members. At the Survival School, students discover that humor ties the group together: one group "had found a way to have fun with absurd costumes and role reversal in casting," and they "had the student audience in fits of laughter while they played their story out" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:67).

Sheila Baldhead, a student at the Saskatoon Native Survival School tells how affirming drama can be in the school setting:

> It's like a big happy family going to this school. You get along with everybody, and the teachers are there if you have a problem....
>
> From the school's drama project I learned to communicate with new friends and meet new people. I like acting and waiting for people to applaud. That was a good feeling. There were people watching and saying what's going to happen next...and sitting on the edge of their seats. (as quoted in Regnier, 1988:43)

Imitation and play are harnessed to deal imaginatively with local concerns which blur the boundaries between school and community, for instance, at the Labrador Creative Arts Festival:

> The fifteen students in Mud Lake School, Grades K-9, wrote a play *Never Cry Dog* which encapsulated a real event where a community member's dog had been accused of killing a chicken. The actual culprit turned out to be a wolf. In *The Boarding House* the Paradise River students (K-9) wrote a spoof on "outsiders" who stay over-night while visiting this tiny hamlet of 65 people. Students from Northwest River emulated a soap opera format by referring to the original settler Lydia Campbell in this area. Their play *All Lydia's Children* featured a researcher who records all gossip that occurs in the Northwest River post office. The play from Black Tickle looked at how the dynamics change in a family when one of its members, Essie Morris, leaves Black Tickle and only returns years later, rich, famous and accustomed to an urban lifestyle as Vanessa St. Maurice. (Borlase, 1988:52-53)

This stage, then, involves 1) Research, 2) Statement of Intent, and 3) Selection/Limitation (see also the chapter on "People's Theatre: Theatre of Survivors").

The SNSS and the LEISB accomplish these steps through a series of theatre exercises which "demonstrate the importance of locating an improvisation in a specific place or situation" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:57).

. . . The Intermediary Stage: Organizing for Effective/Affective Response

Drama liberating education is an organizing medium, that is, *a way of focussing and a way to build solidarity* in that it seeks to demonstrate to participants "the importance of committing oneself to playing actions that establish the 'reality' of a given situation" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:61). Regnier (1988) advises that in teaching the story circle method it is important not to "rush or cheat the process in favour of getting on with a performance" (p. 38). This entails a process of clarifying the acting out of units in order to avoid l) slurring the action by not focussing, 2) remaining uncommitted to the action by showing rather than really doing, and 3) muddying the action by playing it in such a way that it is unconvincing to an audience (Regnier, 1988:38). What arises out of such a process is inherently the development of a theatrical language, along with the benefits of improved "language skills, confidence, group skills, and self-esteem" (Regnier, 1988:38): "Vignettes of daily life begin to emerge out of those exercises": "As the improvs move along, more and more events reflect the daily life of these native kids" (Regnier, 1988:39).

Theatre's communication, which operates at a very powerful level, is understood and put to use by both the SNSS and the LEISB. At the Survival School, through the exercise "Objects," the Direction Team is playing on the fact that all of us, "consciously or unconsciously, associate certain objects with particular memories, occupations, people or events" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:68). The drama workshops use objects extensively "to stimulate memory recall and imagination" (Smillie and Murphy, 1986:68).

There is a long road to performance. As *entertainment*, ultimately, *drama liberating education* has the power, as in the 12th Labrador Creative Arts Festival (November

29, 1987) to involve 3,000 Labrador adults, students and teachers from 19 schools and 15 isolated communities across northeastern Labrador (Borlase, 1988:51). But the work in this stage is by far the most taxing: l) Material shaping; 2) Research/form and content; 3) Re-definition of Statement of Intent; 4) More research/form and content; 5) Dramatic shaping of: design, direction, acting, conventions, and text; 6) Rehearsal; and 7) Performance. The work does not end here for it also includes l) Feedback/Critical Response, 2) Evaluation, 3) Research, 4) Revision, 5) Final Scripting, 6) Text Created, and culminating in a 7) Transferable Theatre Event.

In order to stress that *drama liberating education* is an educational process rather than a finalized product, the LCAF performances are "attended by the visiting artists" and an animateur similar to Boal's "joker," who "publicly identifies the strengths of each production" and invites audience members "to ask the casts questions about their productions and how the writing came about" (Borlase, 1988:52).

In the long hours of improvisational sessions which precede any play, Survival school students reflect upon their individual and collective experiences, improvise versions of these experiences for one another, and re-create and reclaim a language for talking about their daily life experience (Regnier, 1988:26). By the time workshops are successfully completed,

> students have not just thought abstractly nor have they just learned techniques. They have explored ways to think within social situations. In this way they develop a practical social imagination to help face the social reality outside the school. And they construct a liberating community with one another. As they tell their stories and improvise their views of social reality within the security of a co-liberating teacher, they see and receive creative social support from one another. Beyond the discussion of community, students actually build community among themselves. And they begin to live the way they act.
>
> This pedagogy is very different from the commercial "critical"-thinking packages, which abstract such thought from the realities of culture and social class that separate theory from practice, reflection from action and community from school. (Regnier, 1988:26)

Drama liberating education offers *the living form of a people's curriculum*, a process which evolves slowly into the play form and which is

> music, light, choreography and culture dramatized in public performance. It can capture authentic humor and tragedy, dreams and fantasies of native youth whose voices have been silenced by poverty, racism and indifference and have not been represented in the popular media nor the school curriculum. (Regnier, 1988:27)

It stresses *participation as goal and means*. Particularly when aimed at increasing participation and/or activism by the marginalized, *drama liberating education* seeks to aid both the audience and the participants in asserting control over their lives. It also *facilitates critical consciousness* which is responsive to change/innovation. A good example is the play "Indians 'R' Us" (the seventh annual collective improvisational play presented by Saskatoon Native Theatre actors at the SNSS): "The play emphasizes the often unnoticed 'history of academic success' among Indian people in their struggle against racism and poverty" (Regnier, 1988:24). In its very nature of being *a "live" medium which puts forth information and analysis in a form linked to social experience*, this kind of play has *a very powerful empathic ability to elicit audience response*.

It is important that Native and northern indigenous students who have been treated as casualties in schools of the past and, in effect, all students discover theatre as an affective/effective communicator which allows for change and for ways of addressing and assessing cultural change.

. . . The Final Stage: Dealing with Disclosures and Moving On

Not only does the process elicit painful and honest disclosures from participants which must be handled with extreme care, respect, and with support, the play also has the ability to elicit honest disclosures from audience members. When people's theatre is used in the school system, it is important to remember that a child's social reality may be as frightening to him or her as it is to the teacher. Importantly, it is the teacher's responsibility, in collaboration with others in the helping professions (for example, doctors, nurses, social workers and so forth, trained in an understanding of people's theatre techniques and in how to respond without being culturally invasive), to foster support systems outside the classroom to enable students to experience and to affirm meaningful academic success in the classroom (Smillie, 1988). Teachers and theatre workers are not equipped to deal with social crises on their own, or to intervene on their own, but they must be viewed as playing a part in a system that addresses an individual's and, therefore, a community's well-being and survival.

Smillie (1988) warns that this kind of theatre is potentially very dangerous and should not be used with young children. She is presently re-thinking Catalyst Theatre's role since it has gone into performance of, "Feeling Yes, Feeling No," a play which deals with sexual and other abuse through various skits which illustrate when it is appropriate to touch, hug or kiss someone—and when it is not (Lord, 1986:G1). Catalyst Theatre has had to come up with a way to deal with children's disclosures of abuse to the actors after the performance. The actors tell the principal who usually calls social services which has a child-care worker look into the situation (Lord, 1986:G1). This play has recently finished touring as part of a child abuse prevention program in Edmonton Schools with Catalyst Theatre. Smillie's fears are well-grounded in her long experience with educators, counsellors, and outside school workers, such as, social workers, psychologists, and so forth. Catalyst Theatre makes it a part of their policy to try to keep in touch with students who disclose either during a workshop or after performance and/or to maintain contact with the student's support system in and outside the school. Smillie (1988) says she has witnessed, along with her staff, interventions by members of the so-called helping services who deal with student disclosures in a manner that is limiting and, ultimately, self-destructive. Many times, Smillie (1988) has run into an attitude which can be expressed as "when will you the student change your attitude and behavior to fit into society?" However, she maintains that these workers are never stroked or affirmed when things go well and are on the line when things go wrong. These helping professionals are themselves products of a system and are often overworked and underpaid. Smillie (1988) sees these members of the helping professions as being in need of *drama liberating education* for themselves and also for the students' sake.

Smillie (1988) believes that it is a student's right to be very angry sometimes and that it is appropriate and necessary to express/release frustration and pent-up emotional, imaginative, and physical energy in an appropriate setting. As long as the support system is not in place to take care of students and audience members disclosures, the transformative, educational intermediary known as *drama liberating education* must be used to re-educate the support system, first and foremost (Smillie, 1988).

This kind of work, which is educating the community, includes building a liaison between school and community and must involve parents and all significant others. At the Survival School,

> They wanted a school that recognized their realities. In one year, for example, 72 out of 77 students lived in single-parent families, in group homes, with one another or with relatives rather than in two-parent family arrangements. The school now offers a free hot lunch for students who do not have regular meals, and the pupil services worker assist students with family services, welfare, medical attention, Indian Affairs, the courts, housing, and income. (Regnier, 1988:29)

Conclusion

In pedagogical terms, drama liberating education has proven to aid students to 1) integrate, 2) master methods and materials, 3) make sensitive assessments about the quality of their own lives as well as the aesthetic nature of all their environments, 4) critically assess their own problems and encourage certain capacities to think regardless of content and context, 5) gain fulfillment and pleasure, thereby increasing their attendance and enjoyment of school, 6) appreciate the skills and accomplishments of others, 7) know excellence, 8) refine sensory, emotional, or intellectual faculties, 9) respond to fast-changing circumstances and to be self-confident to be able to make changes, 10) think imaginatively (or creatively) and intuitively, 11) communicate, 12) transfer skills learned in a drama setting to other subjects of study, and 13) comprehend the evolution of their own cultural traditions as well as the traditions and values of other people and to devise a willingness to accept similarities and differences among various races and creeds. Of course, gauging all the effects on student achievement of *drama liberating education* will take further examination and perhaps even take several more years. There are, however, indications that students fare better when the arts, for instance, *drama liberating education* is an integral part of their experience of school. *Drama liberating education* is not just the embodiment of an arts curriculum, for it is integrated into other school programs to extend their possibilities, like Language Arts and Social Studies-History, thus, it is an extension of the total curriculum in very much the way that Schafer (1982), Robinson (1988), Sutton-Smith (1988), and others, have said the arts should become integral to the learning process. Not only educators, but arts organizations and artists, for instance Ruth Smillie, Artistic Director of Catalyst Theatre, teachers, community helping services, parents, and other community members have a great deal to contribute. At a time when students will be faced with making important decisions about their lives; for instance, in Labrador where the fishing industry is dying, it is imperative that they know the past, the present, and what consequences may have to be faced in the future for their survival. *Drama liberating education* is one way to ensure that these students are prepared.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: FROM KNOWLEDGE-SHARING TO PROFIT-SHARING AND VICE VERSA: TRANSFORMATIVE, *DRAMA LIBERATING EDUCATION* AND COMMUNICATION IN SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY

> We have made a conscious effort to break down the bureaucratic procedures and narrowly defined controls that have inhibited the examination and acceptance of ideas. (Haynes, Imperial Oil CEO, as quoted in Aird and Westcott, 1989:48)

> I think getting a good education is important I want to get a really good job, which will support me and help me in the future....
>
> I think Native people are slowly moving up in what they do with their culture. People are interested in Native culture and wonder what this had to do with that. This school makes me proud of my culture and being an Indian. (Baldhead, Saskatoon Native Survival School student, as quoted in Regnier, 1988:44)

Transformative or *drama liberating education* is a legitimate curricular and teacher-training response for enabling learners l) to participate in the direction of their learning, 2) to investigate the limits and possibilities for action and to unveil the contradictions and structures underlying everyday reality, 3) to see, analyze, and act upon experience, 4) to build community among themselves, 5) to integrate thought and action with the realities of culture and the greater community (society), 6) to experience and to affirm meaningful academic success, and 7) to begin to apply to their life what they practice and act under the direction of a co-liberating teacher/guide (Regnier, 1988; Smillie and Murphy, 1986; Freire and Shor, 1987; Boal, 1979; Kidd and Rashid, 1983; Sutton-Smith, 1988).

Culture exists as a dynamic in the playful and purposeful interaction between any individual and any other which results in learning. But schooling, which has been renowned in the past for excluding the cultural lives of most of its participants (Yates, 1987:73), and for invalidating and/or ignoring the complex meaning-making systems of its participants, isolates them from community outside the classroom. Schooling also acts as a barrier that slows down or stops the child's discovery process of alternative ways of thinking and acting to the extent that it ignores the child's cultural and social realities.

This effectively bars some of its participants from experiencing meaningful academic success and has implications for the individual's well-being in his or her own community (culture) and well-being and survival in the greater community (society). Students who fail and/or drop out, and who are thus socially estranged, are in part "casualties of cultural lag," and unfortunately, bright minds are going to waste (Henry, 1960:128).

The way that arts and sciences, two different but complementary ways of knowing the world around us, have become separated in our minds reflects the system "which houses different disciplines in different buildings" (Hebdige, 1979:13) and reflects the separation and marginalization of arts education in schools and in society (Robinson, 1988). This acts as a barrier to the integration of arts education with other disciplines, in effect, it acts as a barrier to the affective, imaginative, intuitive, social, and creative aspects of the mind or ways of knowing the world around us and, in consequence, of adapting ourselves (Robinson, 1988). Robinson (1988) argues that in response to this there is a need for "more culturally-oriented art practice" in schools, and that means two things: 1) professional artists have a crucial role and 2) the audience must be active rather than passive participants.

Although we would not assume that simply by attending sports matches we are learning about team spirit, playing fair, and exercising our muscles, and so forth, yet many fine touring companies of professional artists are going into the schools and putting on performances for passive spectators, and then voicing their frustration as they did at the International Symposium on Arts for Young Audiences in Vancouver, B.C. (1988, May 20-23), about the lack of real communication between spectators and participants. Also, teachers who attended the symposium aired their increasing frustration over not knowing how to deal with artists in the schools. So, as far as arts cultural education is concerned, most of the training systems in education have been powerless to place the arts properly within the cultural space of the schools (Robinson, 1988). There is that growing tension between the "landless and the landlords," in the realm of cultural capital, in the schools. Robinson (1988) believes that artists need to be trained how to work and communicate with children (and this author would add with teachers as well) and that teachers need to be trained how to work and communicate with artists.

Schafer (1982) asks, "Why is exposure to the arts so essential?" (p. 42), and one answer would have to be that we can penetrate our cultural symbols through the arts. Although there will be some that continue to mystify and manipulate us, for instance, the way "subliminal" messages in advertising affect us, we need to be trained, especially if we have had no use for the arts before, that is, we need to be trained how to actively participate in the arts. According to Robinson (1988), "Whatever else schools might be doing, if they don't initiate children into the arts, they're not educating them." But as Schafer (1982) points out, this is no easy task:

> Formal and informal exposure to the arts is a fragile thing. It is best handled by artists, animators and educators who are skilled at discovering and cultivating the talents people do possess, not reprimanding them for talents they do not possess. Such talented individuals should be backed up by the full complement of cultural resources: courses, funds, programs, facilities and equipment. (p. 42)

Still, it is imperative that the arts not become a "compulsory obligation" (Schafer, 1982:42). Adults and children should be allowed "to make informed and intelligent decisions for themselves about whether or not they want the arts to play a meaningful role in their lives," though "what is cautioned against is excluding the arts from people's lives due to lack of exposure" (Schafer, 1982:42). Adequate exposure to the arts for all citizens is advocated "so that they can decide for themselves with full knowledge of the various benefits and consequences of their decisions" (Schafer, 1982:42). Schafer (1982) says, perhaps this is what the founders of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* had in mind when they fashioned the following:

> Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic,

> social and cultural rights indispensable for his [or her] dignity and the free development of his [or her] personality. (p. 37)

People's theatre is helping to mobilize marginalized people all over the world and giving them powerful artistic and educational tools to overcome their isolation. People's theatre has the potential to bring disparate individuals and groups closer together for dialogue in the same cultural space by using make-believe, imitation, and play, erasing the physical, emotional, cultural, and intellectual limits that divide one from the *other*. All it takes is an innovative organization with some economic and political muscle to use this powerful, transformative tool. As David Diamond (personal communication, January 16, 1989) says, "It is important to understand that the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en people were very organized before Headlines Theatre came along. They were and still are in the midst of the largest land claims case in Canadian history."

Collaborations between businesses, banks, schools, communities, arts organizations, for example, people's theatre companies, are becoming more and more an innovative possibility. As the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh has shown, it is of the utmost importance to operate within a given community to further their mutual interests. Theatre is a part of that picture, as are other community events, but money and resources are necessary for the people to be able to protect their interests. Working with the existing communal structure rather than imposing another structure from the outside-in seems to lessen the natural points of conflict, seem less objectionable to the landlords, and seems less likely to be rejected or rebuffed.

We know the arts serve culture but the question is raised how does science serve culture? Some questions cannot be answered fully in a scientific, objective way without mythmaking and storytelling in community. Canadian Native people understand this. They tell stories to get through life and to make the world intelligible; but at the same time, the Canadian indigene is demanding that he or she be allowed to be the observer and recreator of his or her own image. For instance, Native women are "eradicating the old asexual stereotype of 'woman as squaw'" (Wilkinson, 1988:230). Beth Cuthand, in "Transmitting our Identity as Indian Writers," expressed it well when she said, there is still a racist "assumption that Indian people don't have the skills to write and that therefore none of us exist" (as quoted in Wilkinson, 1988:230). Cuthand calls on Native women to write in English for greater ease of communication and to write collectively for the strength that this imparts (Wilkinson, 1988:230). It is significant to remember that the tradition of empowerment through the grandmother is basic in the writing of Native women (Wilkinson, 1988:230). Turning the tables, it would seem it is imperative that non-Natives begin to use the oral model to understand the more traditional Native text as a collective, communal event (Wilkinson, 1988:230).

Making meaning is what the arts and sciences are all about, although science keeps taking the individual out of the picture. The arts put that individual back into the picture and also situate the knower back into the communal structure. The real challenge in the future is in the integration of the arts and sciences, of different ways of knowing. Understanding the Native perspective is the first step. We have the tools to do this in our Canadian multicultural setting, that is, to collaborate, to live in a healthy community environment, to have access to opportunity, and to feel important in that community. People's theatre is, without a doubt, the most effective agent to have in the twenty-first century's multicultural classroom in order to make possible "the human family's finest hour"; in effect, to show the way "to live at peace, with knowledge and in resplendent diversity" (Paterson, 1983:72).

Today, change is occuring in the cultural realm as individuals are beginning to want the kind of social programs that will help them overcome the limitations inherent in being the member of a culture. Native involvement in curriculum development and in organizing community struggles for self-government has brought together the Native and non-Native members of society in order to attempt to fashion a new method of learning, of acting, and of interacting, which is a synthesis of the best of all worlds. This synthesis of styles is an attempt to enable the participation of learners who can communicate effectively in both school and community, perhaps even in a global context. In 1978-9, when June Deborah Wyatt said, as "yet there are still difficulties in creating educational programs involving native people and expressive of native culture" (p. 20), she was commenting on the difficulties inherent "in developing native cultural programs in the British Columbia provincial school system" and "program development at the Community School in the small rural Indian community at Mt. Currie, B.C." (p. 17). The difficulties in adapting a program to the unique resources of a particular community have been overcome by the Saskatoon Native Survival School (SNSS) and with the integration of the Labrador Creative Arts Festival and the Labrador East Integrated Schools Board (LEISB). Realizing the arts as an integral part of the learning process, these two settings, in Saskatoon and in Labrador, have brought educational experiences for Native, white, Innu, and settler children in touch with community experiences *without* excluding literacy skills. In this way, the SNSS and the LEISB have gone much further than was thought possible in 1978-9. Wyatt said that simply by "immersing children in the community might be one way," but this raises Native parents' concerns:

> Many parents in the community at large are skeptical when they see their children going on field trips and have communicated this to Board members and to student teachers. They are not sure the children are getting the skills necessary for contemporary survival—field trips and learning outside the school look to most parents like "fooling around." Making these experiences credible to parents is critical; involving parents in them would be a potent way of establishing this credibility. (p. 22)

At Mt. Currie, the solution reached was that Native teachers began to act as "cultural brokers synthesizing aspects of both community and school learning styles" (Wyatt, 1978-9:26). But Beth Cuthand reminds us of exclusive assumptions which still remain in the greater community, which still threaten not only Native cultural production but their survival as a group (culture).

It is significant to note that the strategies and identities those in the greater community and teachers and students assume in classrooms are not produced entirely within the confines of these settings, but are in large part a product of a system of state education which itself is constrained by power relations and principles of social control (Woods and Hammersley, 1977:15). Unfortunately, we may or may not be able to overcome all that constrains us (Robinson, 1988).

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and compatriot Brazilian director/ theatre worker Augusto Boal's sharing of the life of the poor and the working class has led them to the discovery of what they both describe as the "culture of silence" of the dispossessed (Shaull, as quoted in Freire, 1970:10). Much in the same way as Henry (1960) observed that students who fail and/or drop out are thus "casualties of cultural lag" (p. 128), Freire has observed that those whose voices are not heard in the greater community are victims of "economic, social, and political domination," with schools, community members, the dominant groups (cultures), and the compliant victims all playing their part (Shaull, as quoted in Freire, 1970:10-11). This raises questions as to why do schools fail some students and how can this be amended; what is the relationship between oppression and compliance to oppression; and what roles do schools play with respect to reflecting and affirming l) dominance and compliance to oppression and 2) for enabling possibilities, allowing for the learning of alternative ways of thinking and acting?

The alternative, transformative, *drama liberating education* is *a new form of education, communication, and cultural expression* which has emerged in response to a global need for the restructuring of societies, business, government, theatres, schools, and so forth in order to manage the dynamics of change itself (Kidd, 1985:19; Aird and Westcott, 1989:46, 48). The structures which produce inequality and keep people subservient to the economic and political decisions made by dominant groups also inhibit growth/development in societies, business, government, theatres, and schools. These structures are also seen as being barriers to human adaptation in a fast-changing, complex world. When businesses, governments, theatres, and schools are changing it must be seen as a reflection that restructuring is necessary not only for success in the new environment, but for survival. People's theatre addresses the need to work with, to learn from, and to develop actions collaboratively with the landless, the powerless, the poor, the disenfranchised, and those who have been (silenced) oppressed in the past, in other words, those people who are usually targetted for development. People's theatre is a forum where activists can be brought together with a target group (community), and also with larger organizations and their members, such as professors, teachers, members of the middle-class, the elite, governments, businesses, arts organizations and artists, and so forth. People's theatre makes possible research and texts that are relevant to the needs of the community it serves and its analytical tools can be made available to that community. People's theatre not only enhances communication and makes possible the synthesis of joint interpretations of experience it is also a very imaginative, analytical tool. People's theatre helps reveal sterotypical thinking and can sensitize a group (culture) to become aware of how such thinking constrains not only the oppressed but also the oppressors. People's theatre makes possible education in the cultural knowledge of those who have been ignored in the past. We know people's theatre can do all this, but knowledge power brokers continue to ignore people's own experience. It is of the utmost importance that the target group, for instance, the Innu in central Labrador, be brought into any discussion of economic development of a region. When it has been touted in the past that militarization, for example, the set up and maintenance and expansion of a foreign or even NATO military presence in an underdeveloped region, is the answer, it is not clear for whose benefit. And what negative implications does development, without the knowledge and experience of the target group, have for the economic and social infrastructure in terms of sustainable development and in the cost in human (and cultural) terms? There is also often very little research available to address a thorough understanding of the physical and socio-economic environments from the point of view of the target group whose access to the production of research is limited. Never mind that when the target group speaks out it is patently ignored or dismissed as being of small significance or no significance at all. Not only are the Innu landless in that "the federal government refuses to recognize that the Innu own the land in central Labrador," but their accumulative 9,000 years of knowledge garnered from living on the land is challenged in the courts. The target group is so often ignored by larger and more powerful organizations/institutions that it is difficult to hear their voices even when they have become solidified by organization and active resistance to the dominant group(s). Plus, the question arises, where are all the innovative thinkers who can come up with alternative ideas, experiments, and action-research projects which are potentially replicable in underdeveloped regions of this global village, and which ultimately may benefit an underdeveloped region's target group, and which will not be usurped by others for their ultimate benefit? The Canadian federal government,

> in pursuing a policy of assimilation by working hand-in-hand with churches and corporations—taking children from communities to residential schools, dislocating entire communities so that the natural resources on reserve land can be exploited by big business—is in effect destroying native people. (Nahwegabow, 1990:C6)

Nahwegabow, an Ojibway Indian and the former director of the Native Canadian Centre, in her (1990) review of *The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada,* advises "those who accuse Indians of 'whining' and over-dramatizing the deplorable social-economic conditions under which many native people live should also read this book" (p. C6). Nahwegabow says she has worked with many officials involved in Native affairs, in the government and in the private sector: "The contempt that they have for native people is blatant" (1990:C6). Nahwegabow says, what is compassionately documented in *The Dispossessed* is that Native people did not create their problems; rather, they are "the logical result of policies, practices and legislation designed to destroy a people's cultural values, social systems, language and spiritual beliefs" (1990:C6). Suppression of Native culture at residential schools, for example, "have resulted in many of the problems facing Indian communities today: alcoholism, violence, suicides and high incarceration rates" (Nahwegabow, 1990:C6). It is the children who suffer most: For example, one Manitoba "family court judge who conducted a provincial inquiry on native children in the child-welfare system agreed with native leaders that native children were victims of 'cultural genocide'" (as quoted in Nahwegabow, 1990:C6).

What is emerging then in the 1990s is a new Canadian tool called *drama liberating education,* a tool for integration and for sustainable development, that is, it is based on the rational utilization of human resources. Since Canadians are responsible for inventing the term *multiculturalism*, it is only fitting that Canadians should begin to evolve new methods and ways of making a multicultural society possible. Achieving a synthesis of traditions, values, and styles does not have to compromise any one; in fact, it may actually strengthen them all. In order "to realize these rights, and to secure for the arts a fundamental place in life itself, it is necessary to fashion a dynamic arts policy—a policy that is flexible, adaptive and response to the changing face of the arts," and as Schafer (1982) points out, it should be predicated on five principles:

> **One:** promotion of the highest possible standards of excellence, creativity, experimentation and participation;
> **Two:** reasonable economic and social security for artists and arts organizations;
> **Three:** adequate protection and dissemination of the world's artistic heritage;
> **Four:** adequate exposure to the arts for all people; and
> **Five:** sufficient access to the arts for those who want it. (p. 38)

As Schafer (1982) points out, that which will make or break any arts policy is these five fundamental policy principles, in other words, "the promotion of high standards of artistic excellence, creativity, experimentation and participation" (p. 38). Because there are "insufficient resources to provide support for all artistic endeavours, choices will have to be made about which activities will be supported and which will not," and Schafer adds that, "as a result, objectives, priorities and criteria will have to be hammered out and adjusted over time in accordance with changing conditions" (1982:39).

Drama liberating education, whether it is used in the classroom or community setting, by being closely related to the social and economic realities of people's daily lives, by addressing social and economic inequality, regional disparity, access to resources, humane ways of dealing with the environment and the economic and social needs of all members of a developing community, and by mediating human adaptation to the sheer pace of change in a fast-changing and complex world, is already serving the needs of a popular transformation. The arts are an integral part of this complex process, that is, mediating fast-changing circumstances and more specifically, people's theatre is helping to unite artists and audiences, educators and the community they serve, in effect, culture and society.

In businesses, schools, and theatres, long-held traditions and values of the dominant culture have fashioned a much too tightly-controlled system. Although traditional and deeply-rooted conventions, values, rules, and formulas are useful in certain circumstances, and although in and of themselves, these traditions are neither good nor bad, when society is in transition, tradition must be re-examined and, if necessary, discarded. People's theatre is an imaginative weapon which helps examine and, if necessary, break these long-held conventions.

Convinced of the inevitability of change, more and more grassroots organizations, especially Native organizations and women's groups, are emerging from a long cultural and societal history of conflict avoidance. In the emotional realm, this means that for marginalized members of cultures and societies there is an increasing anger and demand for action; consequently, there is a need for some medium, like people's theatre, that is effective in not only transforming anger into constructive action, but in helping those who were once considered voiceless and powerless to regain their self-esteem and to deal with the emotional upheaval caused by rapid changes. This will not be easy because of countermoves or acts of resistance by the dominant culture and by marginalized persons and groups.

The knowledge which grassroots' organizations have may be necessary for survival, that is, for adapting to fast-changing circumstances and for fashioning a new order in a multicultural setting. Jeanette Armstrong, of the Penticton Indian Band, says she was fortunate in that she started writing by accident. She is convinced that the aboriginal people of Canada have much to teach the rest of us about ecological survival (Wilkinson, 1988:119). As Judge E.W. Kenrich states (from a life-time association with Canadian indigenous peoples), "I have been amazed at the number with university educations. We are missing a lot in not accepting Indians and projecting them as a viable part of our Canadian culture" (Frazer, 1972:10). People's theatre can be used to promote and project an accurate image of the indigene, and one that is fashioned by the Native and northern indigenous peoples themselves. These images must be encouraged to penetrate the cultural mainstream; otherwise, the mass media will continue to reproduce images which are often detrimental to and ignorant of aboriginal peoples and their struggles for cultural renewal, human rights, land claims, self-government, and so forth.

Yet, how can the Canadian indigene build a future for their children when they are constantly being denied the right to determine that future? Roxana Ng, in her 1988 "Immigrant Women and Institutionalized Racism," says,

> Together with immigrant women, native women are the most disadvantaged and exploited groups of people in our society. Unfortunately, precisely because of the history of colonization in Canada, much of the past of native people generally, and native women particularly, is lost to us. Since most English accounts of the native peoples were written by whites and are full of racist and sexist biases, we cannot rely on them to provide us with a picture of the role of women in traditional native societies. Recent feminist research has forced a reexamination of past interpretations of the status of native women during early contact periods, and suggests new directions of investigation which begin from the perspective of native women themselves. (p. 198)

Cultural expression is a form of literacy that all human beings have access to; it is their way of "reading the world"—an understanding which has often eluded learners who do not understand the methods and conventions of the dominant culture (Kidd, 1985:19). Cultural capital equals economic capital, that is, "cultural capital ('good taste,' certain kinds of prior knowledge, abilities and language forms) is unequally distributed throughout society and this is dependent in large part on the division of labor and power in that society" (Apple, 1979:33). As Apple (1979) says, the culture tacitly preserved in and expected by schools contributes to the inequality outside of these institutions: "Both poverty and curricular problems such as low achievement are integral products of the organization of economic, cultural, and social life as we know it" (p. 33). This is a concept which also requires subtlety, "not appraisals which argue for a one-to-one correspondance between institutional life and cultural forms," and Apple (1979) adds, "Neither all curricula nor all culture are 'mere products' of simple economic forces" (p. 34). New joint interpretations of the past, present, and future are needed to be developed by those who wish to be experts of their own experience. The power difference in cognitive authority will remain until there is more sharing of knowledge, experience, and resources.

When words fail us in the "literate" world, we face a grave danger, not only of being misunderstood, but of being excluded for a world that is being constantly made and re-made. Native people are encouraging each other to write and publish, often in English as both Beth Cuthand and Tomson Highway have done, not only for ease of communication, but also to educate and strengthen the interchange possible between the Native and non-Native community.

Strehler has said that the theatre runs the risk of failing and thus of being ignored. In this sense, today it is most likely to be ignored with dire consequences. As Schafer (1982) said,

> To this point, the assessment has been conducted largely in terms of what the arts *add* to life, society, the environment,

> the economy, politics and education. The time has come to consider what would be subtracted if the arts were slowly withdrawn from these fields, perhaps as a result of institutional indifference or lack of public support. (p. 43)

Educators, knowledge power brokers, persons in managerial or influential positions, and so forth, whose narrow thinking in the past has been along this line, can no longer continue to ignore the arts. Without the arts

> the immediate loss would be substantial. The quality of design of all products...would deteriorate. Severe reductions would take place in the number and availability of galleries, museums, cinemas, theatres, musical groups and the like. Those organizations which remained would offer no new works, merely re-runs of existing works at exhorbitant prices which only the rich could afford. There would be serious depletions and much unemployment in the ranks of artists....Natural and human environments would quickly become run down. The economies of most countries and communities would suffer. Much of the vitality would go out of the educational system. There would be little creativity and innovation. If the withdrawal continued long enough, the long-run loss would be incalculable. "Without art, the crudity of reality would make life unbearable" is the way George Bernard Shaw put it. (Schafer, 1982:43)

Power brokers' ignorance and mistrust of the arts and/or desire to exploit them for their own ideological and economic ends denies something which is old and yet also fairly new, that is, how to use the arts as a barometer to measure the aesthetic state of human environments (Schafer, 1982:17-18). Canadian Federal Environment Minister Lucien Bouchard has said that "Canada and other nations must be prepared to re-examine conventional ideas" and compares "the environmental degradation of the world to nuclear warfare" (as quoted in McInnes, 1990:A5). We must challenge ourselves to hone our understanding of the arts in an environment where "the rapid rise in pollutants...everywhere threaten to run out of control" (Schafer, 1982:18) because it is through the arts we become aware. However, as Schafer (1982) points out, "The responsibility of the arts does not end with a running commentary on the aesthetic state of human habitats"; rather, "it is merely the first step in a whole series of necessary steps to improve the aesthetic quality of these environments" (Schafer, 1982:18). Georges Erasmus, national chief of the Canadian Assembly of First Nations, "said that business initiatives and technology are not enough to reverse trends that threaten the world environment" (as quoted in McInnes, 1990:A5). He says, "We should learn that we need a different kind of society," and "the reality is that the centre and centres of power will have to change" (as quoted in McInnes, 1990:A5). Environmental solutions, according to Shane Jones, a Maori adviser to the New Zealand Environment Ministry, "should not be left to any one sector of society," not even environmental groups (as quoted in McInnes, 1990:A5). He added that because they are an exclusive domain, such groups "often do not understand the position of indigenous peoples" (as quoted in McInnes, 1990:A5). People's theatre can help uncover and express the indigenous peoples' position.

In the Canadian Native and northern indigenous communities, people's theatre has always functioned as a tool for education and social change. However, their cultural production has so often been shut out and/or denied legitimacy. There is a need for people's theatre to continue to act as a communications tool to accurately represent the Native and northern indigenous peoples of Canada. For too long, Native people and others who have fallen or who have been lead into the "conspiracy of silence" have lost their culture, in effect, their membership in a community. Kahn-Tineta Horn, executive director of Caughnawaga Indian Legal Defence Committee, agrees: "Our children struggle through school learning the white man's ways, never to be accepted in that society, losing the Indian culture and often their native tongue" (Frazer, 1972:10). It has also been reported in the documentary entitled "Circle of Healing," filmed chiefly in Alkali Lake, "a remarkable B.C. community that has already been the subject of a film about its success in coping with alcoholism"—achieving 95 per cent sobriety—that the Native people are regarded by both non-Native and Native specialists as *leaders and role models* in the field of sexual abuse (Cuff, 1989:A12). In David Cherniak's documentary, "Circle of Healing," the sexual abuse of Native children in specific communities is examined:

> reported to affect as much as 90 per cent of the population. In a significant number of cases…it is directly attributable "to individual priests, ministers and nuns" who were part of a "residential school system" in which native children were taken from their homes and "stripped of their culture and customs." (Cuff, 1989a:A12)

Native people have been oft-denied "legitimacy," but through organization and through access to forms of media not usually those of the cultural mainstream, they are becoming role models and leaders, and the extent of sexual abuse suffered by children at the hands of priests and teachers has come to light, resulting in criminal convictions (Nahwegabow, 1990:C6). As Nahwegabow says,

> in spite of tremendous obstacles, native communities are in the process of recovery—recovering cultural values, spiritual beliefs and traditions, and dignity. Many are prepared to fight for a better future for their children. Leaders like Lubicon Chief Bernard Ominayak and Chief Louis Stevenson of the Manitoba Peguis Band show courage and imagination in the struggle. (1990:C6).

For the sake of the larger community, we can no longer continue to denigrate Native cultural production, knowledge, and experience. Nahwegabow would likely champion a group like the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en people who are collaborating with an arts organization like Diamond's Headlines Theatre company to examine not only their own attitudes but those of the non-Native community and doing their part in stopping unjust policies and practices of the Canadian government.

More and more marginalized persons are being heard through organization and by using the communications tool of people's theatre. The problems when two or more "alien" cultures attempt to communicate are being faced daily in the Canadian multicultural setting, and they point up significant cultural, intellectual, artistic, emotional barriers to communication. David Diamond's "power play" process and Smillie and Murphy's "story circles" method are proven techniques to transcend or cut across these self-perceived boundaries and to help participants communicate with each other in a non-threatening fashion. It may take several more years to see whether people's theatre techniques or *drama liberating education* can create a new and a more humane relationship between dominant and marginalized cultures, but in Canada, a collaboration of the best of Native, Innu, settler, and white traditions is becoming possible.

Both Boal and Freire have worked to uncover the structures that inhibit articulation, interpretation of analysis, and inclusion in decision-making and that are barriers to change in people's daily lives. Both Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed" and Boal's "theatre of the oppressed" models uncover the complicity in the interaction between oppressed and oppressor. They have discovered that silence is a weapon harmful for both parties. These two activities have begun a process of restructuring, that is, "confidence-building, awareness-raising, solidarity-building and strategizing" which can be compared to one that has begun in Canadian theatres, schools, businesses, and governments (Aird and Westcott, 1989:48).

For instance, by practicing control over knowledge, knowledge-power-brokers deal in information and management of people the way a banker oversees money. Knowledge-power-brokers have maintained the conspiracy of silence by excluding cultural expression from having "legitimacy." By doing this, these same knowledge-power-brokers are limiting what they can know about the people and about what the people in the organization know, thus, inhibiting the organization's need for necessary change/innovation. Decisions in the past may have more often been made by others and imposed in a hierarchical fashion. This is not the case today. Arden Haynes (Chief Executive Officer, Imperial Oil) says that business's response to the perceived need for improved arbitration between members of organizations is a two-sided improvement. To clear the lines of communication, "CEOs are spending much more time meeting face to face with employees at all levels," but also "decision-making is being pushed to the lowest possible levels":

> We've flattened considerably and we've pushed authority down. For example, in one of our oil fields, the local group is now doing everything, and what they are doing is amazing. We are getting solutions we never would have got before. (Haynes, as quoted in Aird and Westcott, 1989:48).

This is why in this account, I have chosen to examine the interpretations of those who are considered a part of the cultural mainstream as well as those whose interpretations are often only recorded by what may seem "less academic" means in that their texts are as yet only in daily newspaper accounts or magazines.

For the oppressed also, silence is a weapon. By practicing a form of control over cultural expression through concealment, often as a defensive measure, the oppressed have kept the dominant culture steeped in misinformation and ignorance about themselves and have also kept to themselves ways of knowing and interacting that might be innovative, necessary ways of dealing with change. This silence is being broken as the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council, by alliancing themselves with David Diamond's Headlines Theatre company, have made a conscious effort to educate non-Natives and Natives about themselves and their land claim.

Increasing the share of intellect, in effect, the sharing of knowledge, experience, and resources, is slow work as it takes a long time to change the culture of an organization, but it is worth the time for corporations as the knowledge that employees have is often "*more* profit-oriented than the one by management [my emphasis]" (Aird and Westcott, 1989:48).

Will organizations that increase the sharing of knowledge, experience, and resources, whether they be theatres, schools, businesses, and governments, be the wave of the future?

The struggle for life itself is increasing, and a new balance, that is, a new social and economic order which is environmentally sound and sustainable, is necessary.

People's theatre in developing countries is being used as a communications tool for popular organizing, education, and social transformation so that these persons will also have a say in their future. In a world where increasingly communication is becoming of the utmost importance, it is significant to note that intercultural and intersocietal communication is enhanced by a thriving arts community. On the other hand, overt control of the performing arts has been seen to lead to inflexibility, unimaginative thinking, and perhaps even cultural and societal stasis. Artists have something to pass on:

> For the artist, art is more than a career. It is a way of life—a way of life which requires commitment, self-sacrifice, dedication and integrity. In an age in which these qualities are on the wane, the artist injects a ray of hope into what might otherwise be a depressing prospect. Perhaps this is what Jean Cocteau had in mind when he said, "art is not a pastime, it is a priesthood." (Schafer, 1982:40)

For as John F. Kennedy has said, "We must never forget that art is not a form of propaganda, it is a form of truth…if art is to nourish the roots of our culture, society must set the artist free to follow his [or her] vision wherever it takes him [or her]" (as quoted in Schafer, 1982:27). As the arts grow and develop, and as more governmental agencies are established to advance cultural causes, "so the arts and politics move closer together" (Schafer, 1982:27). For as Schafer (1982) says, "The arts contribute to peace and unity in a number of important ways. Most have to do with the ability of artists to communicate in ways which transcend economic, social, racial, intellectual and linguistic differences" (p. 28). The arts help "to strength the human bonds among all people, regardless of country, colour or creed" (Schafer, 1982:28-29). David Rockefeller, as a long-time supporter of the arts, said, "Greater artistic interaction among nations can do much to bridge the tragic differences and misunderstandings that divide the global community" (as quoted in Schafer, 1982:29). If it is true that "a country's artistic accomplishments is one of the best measures of its identity and self-expressive growth," then Canada must be prepared to support its arts organizations and artists:

> How much more sympathy, understanding and harmony there would be in the world if the arts provide the raison d'etre for contact among nations. What a far happier and

> safer place the world would be if artistic exchanges and cooperation constituted the basis of international relations and foreign policy. (Schafer, 1982:29)

It will be necessary to raise "the priority for the arts to the point where it equals that awarded to other areas of human endeavour" (Schafer, 1982:41). Artists and arts organizations must play a more integral part in the community development process. In the schools, according to Robinson (1988), the problem is not a lack of resources; in fact, in his experience, "where schools support the arts they develop and flourish however much money there is." By the same token, where schools do not support the arts, "they shrivel away no matter how much money there is" (Robinson, 1988). From this experience, Robinson (1988) makes his case that it is a matter of "will and vision," but after comparing and contrasting the Yimin Factory's amateur drama unit with Aranyak's work in Bangladesh, we know it is the support of the organization that really floats the boat.

Mao's Cultural Revolution, especially during the 1970s promotion of revolutionary model operas, is a very good example of a tightly-controlled system, similar to businesses, schools, and theatres of the past, whereby the domination of one group over another is won, reproduced, and sustained in the cultural realm as well as in the economic realm. Usually folk culture, the people's own way of knowing, is shut out, ignored, or repressed. Artists can be role models in that during those times when, for example, the performing arts are shut down, manipulated, and/or stringently regulated by governing forces within a country, these persons may reappear at a grassroots level to fight for changes in the cultural and societal realm. Often, domination in the cultural realm is ensured less by tacit and explicit denigration of folk artists' past and present aesthetic achievements and knowledge and more by the support and positive encouragement and even status given to the cultural production of a small, select band of artists and arts organizations. As Schafer (1982) points out, "This has the effect of confining the arts to a very restricted segment of the total population," (p. 39), which is like the often very selective interpretations of the world which abounds in education, businesses, economics, and so forth. Consequently, the assessment of cultural production is a controversial issue:

> Those who have already achieved such standards will often want to use this as a means of excluding others from public support or private patronage. Those who have not achieved such standards will often claim that an arts policy that is predicated on such notions is elitist and undemocratic. (Schafer, 1982:38)

Schafer (1982) adds that "community arts groups which are struggling to evolve high standards" deserve every bit of support "as long as their standards are constantly improving" (p. 39). There is a need to respect differences that cannot be reconciled. But, in essence, "as long as their standards are improving rather than declining or staying constant, support should be provided, even if this necessitates different methods of adjudication or assessment by different types of adjudicators" (Schafer, 1982:39). Thus, it is clear that aesthetic standards must also be finely attuned to the community which they hope to serve (Schafer, 1982:39-40). *Drama liberating education* may have already made possible an active revitalization and evolution of cultural traditions as well as the possibility of devising a willingness to accept similarities and differences among various races and creeds. Consequently, we can no longer afford to ignore or marginalize the arts in the school setting.

Schafer points out, "As more opportunities for tangible gain appear, more imaginative ways are devised to strengthen the growing corporate-arts nexus" (1982:26). He says,

> As artists and businessmen discover they can derive mutual benefits from closer association and cooperation, so the bond tightens between the arts, industry, the economy and the community. Increasingly, artists, businessmen and politicians are realizing that the arts are good for the economy and the community in precisely the same way that a high level of economic and community activity acts as a spur to the arts. This is why business committees for the arts are springing up in more and more countries throughout the world. It also helps to explain why a growing number of municipalities are passing legislation which recognizes the arts as an essential community service, equal in importance

> to all other community services, and therefore deserving of the financial support required to make them viable financially as well as accessible to all citizens. (p. 26)

Schafer (1982) says that corporate involvement in the arts has also risen rapidly, "in addition to promotional value, identification with a market and the exercise of social responsibility, there are public relations benefits which accrue to corporations" (p. 25). Whereas corporations "have long been involved in the arts through product design, packaging, media advertising, plant architecture and interior decorating," now "they are becoming more and more involved through their commitment to the social and economic health of communities in which they reside" (Schafer, 1982:25).

The arts are leading the way, modelling "a more balanced distribution of resources spread throughout most communities, large and small" and "in suburban and rural areas," thereby helping to bring not only the arts, but other ways of knowing, that is, cultural experience and cultural resources "closer to all people, regardless of physical location" (Schafer, 1982:18).

A question is raised, how will this affect the structure of schooling, and will intellect sharing also lead to profit-sharing not only in businesses, governments, but also in schools? According to Aird and Westcott (1989), "It should create a faster track to rise through the organization....Individual contribution, or lack of it, will become more obvious, and there will be fewer places to hide" (p. 51).

Also, excellent questions are being raised by Dr. Muhammad Yunus, founder of the Grameen Bank, who has made possible a people's bank in Bangladesh. He will have the final word for his bank, in many ways, is an example of how people's theatre has already made inroads in the personal and institutional context by asking imaginative questions and providing imaginative, possible answers that can, already have, and will continue to transform culture and society:

> One of the things which struck me was that it is very hard for people to make a living, because the circumstances and

environment do not support their income-generating endeavors.

> One woman I met in that [Bangladesh] village near Chittagong University was working all day to make bamboo stools. At the end of the day she made only 2 pennies....
>
> I had a student of mine with me and we prepared a list of 42 such persons. The total amount they borrowed from the traders, different traders, totaled barely $26....My first reaction was to take this money out of my pocket....
>
> The next question came to my mind, why should I be the one to do it? What happened to the institutions that are supposed to do it? (as quoted in "Story of the Grameen Bank," 1988:15)

APPENDIX A: AN INNU WOMAN'S [CELINI ASHINI'S] LETTER OF PROTEST AGAINST NATO LOW-LEVEL FLIGHTS IN LABRADOR

My name is Celina Ashini.
I am From Sheshatshit, Labrador. I am here to talk about Nato. Should there be one in Labrador. About what it would do to the Innu People. Especially the Elders and the young generation. We will lose our Culture and our land. We won't be able to go to the country anymore. I know whats it like to live in the country, I been going with my family ever since I was fourteen. But ever since my father died, I went with my mother and my grandfather, but since my grandfather died last year, We still went this year only my mother and brother and sisters, I came back from the country last week. And I had a good time. Where we was camping, it was about a hundred miles from Goose Bay. We goes with another families. We stay about three or four months in the country. And we all go home for Christmas, Then We go back again, in the country. It's very nice and peaceful. Enough meat for the families when Caribou is killed. And lots of fish to eat. Mostly its hard work in the country but every Innu People love to go to the country. Innu People don't drink liquor when they're in the country so there is no wife beatings, child abuse or Drug Abuse. But all these will change if there is Nato at Goose Bay. Because Innu People won't be able to go to the country. They will stay in the village with nothing to do but drink liquor & Beer. Then there will be Wife beatings, Child ABuse. Alcohol and drug ABuse. They won't be able to hunt because the jets will fly everywhere. If there's Nato The younger generation will forget about the Innu Culture & our land. And the Elders will be very hurt because of it. That's why there was a protest. We the Innu People don't want the Nato. Men & Women were arrested, put in jail, then taken to court, because they went inside the runaway & were charged with mischeif. They don't understand why they were arrested & charged, they said they should never have to spend their time in jail because of there believe that the land is theirs. We, the Innu will always believe the land is ours. Our Ancestors were born & died in our land. We, the Innu will do the same. We was born on our land & We will die at our land. The jets are flying so low you can't hear them until they almost pass. So the kids especially the much younger ones are really afraid of them. They start screaming & crying. Most of them have nightmares because of it. The military men said they try to avoid the Innu Camps when they're in the country. But that's not true, they always fly over the camps. And the kids & also the Elders get frighten when they can't hear them come only after they pass, then there too noisy. You have to cover your ears but the smaller ones can't do that because there too scared to do anything except scream & cry. Sometime they are always two jets passing the camp and they're very noisy. So We need your understanding & support about Nato.
We don't want Nato in our land.

Probably people from Goose Bay think Innu People don't want them on their land but thats not what the Innu want.

APPENDIX B: A 35-YEAR-OLD CATHOLIC PRIEST [REV. JAMES ROCHE] CHARGED WITH PUBLIC MISCHIEF, ALONG WITH ABOUT 40 INNU PROTESTERS WHO OCCUPIED A CFB RUNWAY AT GOOSE BAY, IN SEPTEMBER, 1989, AND WHO WAS BEHIND BARS FOR MORE THAN FIVE MONTHS IN THE PROVINCIAL CORRECTION CENTRE, GOOSE, BAY, LABRADOR

Rev. James Roche, a 35-year-old Catholic priest, has been behind bars for more than five months in the provincial correction centre in Goose Bay (Cox, 1990a:A3). He was charged with public mischief, along with about 40 Innu protesters, who occupied a runway at CFB Goose Bay, on September, 1989. Roche, who came to Sheshatshit six years ago, "found himself in the middle of the Innu crusade to stop low-level flying over their traditional Labrador hunting grounds," but

> Unlike the other protesters, Father Roche refused to sign a document saying he would not go back to the runway, which he insists is located on Innu land.
>
> "To sign that undertaking would mean granting legitimacy to what is happening here and it would mean that I agree with it. I cannot do that...."
>
> Not signing the undertaking has also meant spending nearly five months behind bars—and a verdict will not be rendered until at least May 2 [1990]—enduring the slamming doors, loud radios and long, dark hours of the prison on a charge that, if it leads to conviction, usually results in a small fine or a few days in jail. (Cox, 1990a:A3)

Roche has also experienced first-hand the low-level flying which terrified the Innu children and which the Innu hunters have said has also frightened the caribou and other wildlife on which they have depended for the past 9,000 years (Cox, 1990a:A3). He said "he quickly learned to loathe the simulated war games the fighter jets were playing, flying as low as 35 metres from the grounds at speeds as high as 800 kilometres an hour" (Cox, 1990a:A3). Roche says, "On that bombing range, I really felt for the first time what it meant to the Innu," and he added that "there were all these bomb shells and craters and it hit me that what was really happening here was preparation for war" (as quoted in Cox, 1990a:A3). According to Roche, the fact is that Canada has offered the homeland of the Innu "as a place to rehearse and develop more advanced and efficient ways to kill each other" (as quoted in Cox, 1990a:A3). However Engstad disagrees with Roche's belief that these activities prepare for war (Cox, 1990a:A3). Roche says

> he has seen the anger and desperation of the Innu, who say they can no longer hunt and live off the Labrador wilderness as they once did and now have to live on social assistance in frame houses in a community where alcoholism and suicides are increasing.
>
> "I have experienced in my position the chaos and turmoil and the agony of dispossession of these people at the hands of the (Canadian) government," Father Roche said. "In Canada we don't have trouble pointing to Asia or Africa for examples of colonization but there is reluctance to recognize that is what happened here." (as quoted in Cox 1990a:A3)

Roche is "widely admired by the 800 residents of Sheshatshit, who have learned to be suspicious of non-Innu people, by they from the government, the police or the news media" (Cox, 1990a:A3). This suspicion does not bode well for either the Innu or non-Innu community but it also reflects the denial of the Innu's rights, a problem which is recognized across Canada. They are not allowed to survive in their community and they are certainly treated with illegitimacy by the greater community (society). It is interesting to note that Roche has received "support from all the major churches in Canada and letters from children as far away as Sweden" but it is very likely that the Innu's plight is not as well-known to the rest of Canadians as the plight of the disenfranchised in other countries.

Military officials have also been angered by Dr. Ludwig Iskenius, a West German pediatrician, who has said that "two preliminary studies by physiologists in West Germany show low-level flying can create emotional and behavioral problems and hearing loss in children" (Cox, 1990a:A3). According to Iskenius, one of his most vivid boyhood memories in West Germany is similar to the experience of trauma he sees among Labrador children.

On Wednesday, May 23, 1990, Cox reported that, "The Canadian military lost a bitter public relations battle with the Innu of Labrador, and the town of Happy Valley-

Goose Bay lost a $500-million development yesterday as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization rejected the area as a site for a tactical training centre for low-level flying" (1990b:A1-A2). The Innu "are saying we worked hard to generate support and we've been heard" (Cox, 1990b:A1-A2). However, the present military activity at Goose Bay will be continued and "John Olthuis, lawyer for the Innu, said the protests and court challenges will likely continue" (Cox, 1990b:A1-A2).

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